FROM TEXT TO PRINT: CASE STUDY OF GOA.

Understanding Literary Production of Fiction and Non-Fiction Works

in Twentieth-Century Goa

A thesis submitted to the Goa University for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English

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January 2020

CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that the thesis titled 'From Text to Print: Case Study of Goa. Understanding Literary Production of Fiction and Non-Fiction Works in Twentieth-Century Goa' submitted by Frederico Noel John Noronha for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy is the record of the original work done by him under my guidance, and further that it has not formed the basis for the award of any other degree or diploma or certificate or associateship or fellowship of this or any other university.

Taleigão, Goa 03 January 2020 André Rafael Fernandes Professor and Head Department of English Goa University, Goa

DECLARATION

I, Frederico Noel John Noronha, hereby declare that this thesis titled 'From Text to Print: Case Study of Goa. Understanding Literary Production of Fiction and Non-Fiction Works in Twentieth-Century Goa' is the outcome of my own research undertaken under the guidance of Dr André Rafael Fernandes, Professor and Head, Department of English, Goa University. All the sources used in the course of the work have been fully acknowledged in the thesis. This work has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other university.

26 December 2019

FREDERICO NOEL JOHN NORONHA

ABSTRACT

Goa was home to the first movable type printing press in Asia, set up in the year 1556. This thesis aims to explain the growth and decline of the printed text in the region while focussing on the book in twentieth-century Goa in particular.

Literature in Goa was shaped by a range of diverse factors, often distant from the writing process itself and beyond the control of the author. This is evident from an examination of the publishing and printing sectors; technology available, deployed or lacking; economic options available to get books into print; political changes of the era; the shifting dominance of different languages; the vast global or limited regional market available for information or creativity; and other such factors.

While non-literary factors in the creation of the literature of Goa are focussed on, book publishing in the region is sought to be situated within the context of the Core-Periphery theory, which offers a framework to understand changes in the role that the region has played in the world of the printed word.

A background to Goa, and its wider context across past centuries offers insights into what shaped the fate of the printed word. Subsequent chapters of the thesis look at the roles played by policies, printers and publishers; the author's position and reading in a small society; the role of the diaspora in shaping Goan literature; and the impact of language shifts in shaping the writing of Goa. Four appendices give additional background to framing the issue.

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THE UNSUNG HEROES OF THE WORLD OF THE BOOK — PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS, IN GOA ESPECIALLY, FROM 1556 TO DATE — FOR THE LONG HOURS SPENT, ACKNOWLEDGED (IF AT ALL) ONLY IN THE FINE PRINT ONLY IN THE FINE PRINT OF THEIR SELDOM MENTIONED WORK, FOR THEIR ATTEMPTS TO KEEP THE WOR(L)DS OF KNOWLEDGEE AND CREATIVITY FLOWING



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1

Introduction:

Situating Goa in its Wider Context

Books are the plane, and the train, and the road. They are the destination, and the journey. They are home. —Anna Quindlen, b.1952. American author, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, opinion columnist, author of How Reading Changed My Life.

Introduction

The printed word is often taken for granted in the realm of literature. Yet, it is the *printed word* that is the very material basis for, and a precondition to, the creation and existence of literature as we know it. It is the glue that makes it possible for our ideas and thoughts to be preserved and to proliferate. Many a writer has made, or lost, a reputation depending on the efficacy of the mechanics of how their thoughts were processed. This holds not just in terms of the actual technology available and used in the publishing of books, but also in terms of the economics and politics that this complex process has had to contend with, its positioning in the global marketplace of ideas, and other related concerns. This study emerges from that perspective, as well as from a long personal interest, fascination and dependence in multiple ways on the 'hardware' that has made possible the existence of powerful words and ideas.

Goa itself has played a significant role in the history of print in Asia; it was home to the first Gutenberg-style movable type printing press in the entire continent. This press reached here way back in 1556, although it arrived in Goa accidentally when it failed to reach its intended destination of Abyssinia, current-day Ethiopia (Windmuller-Luna 239-240).

The contribution of this thesis: The contribution of this thesis lies in building an understanding of writing from Goa, by mapping prominent developments in the world of the book since the mid-sixteenth century in general, but with a focus on the twentieth century in particular. It reviews the non-literary influences and factors that have shaped the literature of the region. The thesis also applies the Core-Periphery theory to the world of book production and distribution, involving the region under study.

For this study, a case-study has been conducted of writing from twentieth-century Goa. To situate the wider context, a timeline of the history of the book in Goa and among its diaspora is included. Likewise, a tabular comparison of the histories of Goa, Portugal and India, attempts to contrast such developments *vis-à-vis* the literary developments of Goa.

A framework is created to analyse and understand the reasons for the changes in the fortunes of the printed word in Goa, how these were influenced and shaped by power equations, and how such factors kept changing and remained fluid over the centuries. The work aims to understand the history and challenges faced in getting the written word out in print in Goa, a small region both in terms of area and population, but yet one which has played a key role in Asian, and even global, history.

The Goan diaspora has played a disproportionately significant role both among the Goan community itself and in South Asian, African and Western contexts. The numbers are small. Goa is roughly only one-thousandth the size of India. In the planet, roughly speaking, two persons out of every ten thousand are Goan. Yet, their impact as a global diasporic community is significant, particularly in some fields; we also look at the role played by this section of the population regarding the books they got published.

Goa's global links and the influences from distant regions is also focussed on across this research.

The context for the study: The study aims to understand Goan books created in the twentieth century, both within Goa and beyond. Goa becomes an interesting place of study because it played a pivotal role in the entry of the printing press in Asia, and its role in linking global knowledge pathways in the sixteenth century, which is discussed later.

The word 'Goan' here is defined to mean both that which is connected to the place of Goa, its people and also anything connected with communities which have migrated out of Goa, wherever they may be located. In his 1967 book that was self-published out of Bombay and titled *Goa Re-Discovered*, Prof. Anant Kakba Priolkar titled the very first chapter of his book 'Who is a Goan'. He contended that writing on Goans raised the challenge for him each time because "I cannot define a Goan to my own satisfaction" (Priolkar 2-3). He negotiates this discussion by pointing to the relatively lesser length of Portuguese rule in the 'New Conquest' areas, and the fact that "until comparatively recent times" the Portuguese meant only the islands in Central Goa when they speak about 'Goa'. He then concluded that,

If we confine the term Goan to only those who have voting rights as Portuguese citizens, many of us who call ourselves Goans will lose all claims to that designation. Nor is it satisfactory to make birth within the boundaries of Goa the criterion, for in that event many of our children will have to be classed as non-Goans. It seems to me that the only reasonably practicable way out of the difficulties is to allow the use of the term Goan to anyone, whatever his present whereabouts, whose forefathers have been domiciled in Goa at any time in history and who is aware of this connection and cherishes and values it. (xii)

Festino and Garmes deal with this issue too when describing 'migration

literature'. They write: "We define migrant writers as those who have migrated from Goa to other parts of the world or who were born away from Goa but have maintained close ties with the land of their forefathers. We define their literary production as 'migration literature'."

The concept of Goa itself, and how its boundaries came about, can also be a contentious issue. Goa, as we know it today, was formed and created by a series of Portuguese conquests, treaties and accidents of history. In *A Invenção de Goa: Poder Imperial e Conversões Culturais nos Séculos XVI e XVII*, or The Invention of Goa: Imperial power and cultural conversions in the 16th and 17th centuries, 2008, Ângela Barreto Xavier has discussed the "Portuguese monarchical experience in southern India as a process of tensions, clashes and accommodation between colonizers and colonized between the 16th and 17th centuries" (Soares de Moura 769).

Goa's land was made up of parts of diverse sultanates and empires. The process by which this came about was itself a lengthy, complicated political process, of gaining some areas and losing others. What was initially known as 'Goa', the old city now referred to as 'Old Goa' and it surroundings, was conquered by Afonso de Albuquerque from the Sultan of Bijapur on February 17, 1510. The Portuguese lost it on May 23 and then re-conquered it a second time on November 25 of the same year. After Albuquerque sailed out of Goa towards Malacca in February 1511, the city came under siege from the Adil Shah's Turkish general Pulad Khan. Only in 1512 did the Portuguese decisively manage to occupy Goa. They occupied neighbouring Bardez and Salcete first in 1520, but the Sultan of Bijapur regained these areas within three years. Only in 1543 did Bardez and Salcete return to Portuguese possession. Thus the areas now called the 'Old Conquests' or Velhas Conquistas ironically became part of Goa after the Portuguese won a war against Ibrahim Khan, whose father had sought Portuguese protection due to a succession crisis. Many conflicts followed, between the successors of Adil Khan, the Marathas led by Shivaji and his

successors, the Bhonsules of Sawantwadi, the Raja of Sundém, and the Portuguese. Portuguese Goa took final shape by a process spanning centuries and involving wars, conquests, compromises, treaties and breaches of agreement between these actors. By 1788, the Portuguese controlled the seven sub-districts which made up the 'New Conquests' or *Novas Conquistas*. The latter accounts for about two-thirds of the landmass of the State of Goa, though the central core *Velhas Conquistas* have been more populous. This also meant that the process of colonisation was varied in different parts of Goa, and so were the linguistic and cultural influences. Such differences in language use, traditions of literature, and understanding of their history are felt till date in different parts of Goa.

José V. Machado has argued that it took 278 years until the formation of Goa, within its current boundaries:

Goa was the city that saw its name given to the State. It was one of the rare examples in geography where a part gives its name to the whole, just as Rome and Romans are words that encompass almost all of Italy in the history of antiquity. The conquest of territories outside their urban limits was not a triumphant ride though. It took less time for the Romans to conquer Italy, despite the heavy defeats they suffered. From the first conquest of an Etruscan city in 396 BC... [to] the conquest of Cisalpine Gaul in 220 BC, the region north of the Rubicon River, only 176 years elapsed, one hundred years less than in the case of Goa. This comparison is nonetheless curious. Rome and Goa were not built in one day.

This study also attempts to situate Goa within the core-periphery divide of the literary world. While Goa was the initial home to movable-type printing in Asia in 1556 CE, it also saw a dark, long night, when publishing and printing both stopped in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries and, later on, was

tightly controlled in the twentieth centuries. This was due to different reasons all linked to the developments originating in the 'mother country', Portugal.

Goa, however also played an often forgotten and invisible, but significant, role in printing in India. The credit of printing the first books in Portuguese–Latin, Konkani, Ethiopic and Tamil, though printed in Roman types, goes to the press set up in 1556 by Portuguese Jesuits at the College of St. Paul in Goa, operated by a lay brother called João or Juan de Bustamante (Kesavan 17). In 1577, Henrique Henriques, 1520-1600, who has been called a 'Portuguese Jew' and who was for a while based outside Goa at Tuticorin, now Thoothukudi, produced what has been called "the first book printed in an Indian script and language" (Orsini xvii).

Goa's connections appear in unexpected places too. For example:

Contrary to untested commonplaces in the existing scholarship on Indian-English literature, English launched its history on the subcontinent two decades *before* the birth of the East India Company. The first person to think, speak, and write in this language on Indian soil in historical times most likely was Father Thomas Stephens, a Roman Catholic who escaped religious persecution in Elizabethan England by joining the Society of Jesus (based in Rome) in 1578, persuading his superiors to let him sail for the Jesuit missions in India the following year. (Dharwadker 96)

Gonçalo Fernandes ("Contributions...") has argued that the "first centuries of [the] Portuguese presence in India... gave rise to a corpus of five native languages". Among these, he lists

Tamil (composed in 1549 by Henrique Henriques), Konkani (composed in 1580 by Thomas Stephens and published in 1640), Bengali (composed by Manoel da Assumpçam and printed in 1743), Marathi (composed by an anonymous author and printed in 1778) and

Hindi (also composed by an anonymous author and printed in 1778). (Fernandes 1)

The significance of printing in Goa is also obvious from the print histories of some other Indian languages. Tamil got some of its early books into print due to the colonial-missionary encounter, including the work of the Portuguese Jesuit Henriques, who was based in Goa for some time and has been called "the first great European scholar of any Indian language". He has been also called "The Father of the Tamil Press" (Anandh). Research into India's print history informs us of how the former Jew-turned-Jesuit used a Press imported from Portugal, and 10x14 cm paper imported from China, to print Tamil texts in Kollam, then called Quilon, now in Kerala ("How A Portuguese Jewish Jesuit..."). This online post also describes the difficulties faced by the Portuguese to communicate across languages, and the missionary efforts to study local tongues and propagate their beliefs through that medium.

Among the other notable roles played by Goa was the role of its people in the history of lithography in India, for instance, the work of José Maria Gonsalves from the Goan village of Piedade, on the island of Divar (Ranganathan "The Goan draughtsman"). In the 1820s, lithography reached India allowing illustrations to be printed. Lithography creates ink impressions by producing a picture or writing on a flat, specially prepared, stone, using a greasy or oily substance. José Maria Gonsalves, a villager of Piedade on the island of Divar in Goa, just outside the former colonial capital of Goa, learnt drafting and drawing on migrating to Bombay, Ranganathan has noted. In 1826, he started to work as a draftsman for the Government Lithographic Press, simultaneously working as a lithographic artist. In 1844 he also undertook a lithographic work titled *Mappa da Territorio Portuguez de Goa*. Gonsalves was probably the artist who behind lithographic works of Bombay landmarks, then sold at two rupees a copy. Around 1833 or 1834, according to Ranganathan, Gonsalves published a portfolio titled *Views of Bombay*, thus building his

reputation as an artist and illustrator in Bombay. As Russia and Britain fought for the control of Central Asia, Gonsalves became the draughtsman to the British explorer-diplomat Alexander Burnes, who was part of The Great Game, the battle for supremacy over Afghanistan between Britain and Russia. Burnes travelled from Calcutta to Bukhara, today part of Uzbekistan, in the 1830s. Gonsalves too was in Afghanistan, including 'Cabool', from 1836 to 1838. He drew the holy city of Medina, besides portraits of soldiers and princes the British team encountered, locals, and official drawings and sketches. Captain Sir Alexander Burnes praised Gonsalves, who also earned an obituary in the English-language newspapers of Bombay, which Ranganathhas noted was "a dubious distinction rarely accorded to Indians" ("The Goan draughtsman").

Goa played an early role in the spread of education and libraries too. The College of St. Paul, one of the first to be established worldwide by the Society of Jesus or the Jesuits, was "compared by European travellers to the noted universities of Europe" in the sixteenth century itself (Menezes Rodrigues 15). This college "had a rich library ... mostly of books on Christian ethics, philosophy, theology, Canon law and other related topics, all written in the Latin languages" (15). It was to become the home of the first movable type printing press in 1556. In terms of libraries, Goa's Publica Livraria was set up in 1832 by the government, and it continues to function (18). It was renamed as the Biblioteca Publica in 1836, upgraded to a 'national library' and renamed as Biblioteca Nacional de Nova Goa in 1897, redesignated as the Biblioteca Nacional Vasco da Gama in 1925 (Central Library, "Brief History"), Central Library after 1961 (Menezes Rodrigues 50) and after 2012 renamed as the Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library after "the founder of Konkani prose and father of Konkani literature in the written word of the sixteenth century" (Central Library, "Brief History"). The importance of this date, 1832, can be understood from the fact that the first public library opened in India in modern times is believed to have come up in Trivandrum, now called

Thiruvananthapuram, in 1829, while the National Library in Calcutta or Kolkata has its roots in the Calcutta Public Library, set up in 1836. Ditchfield also has pointed out that the influential Catholic religious order of priests, who became known as 'the school masters of Europe', the Jesuits, had their "first bridgehead outside Europe" in Goa. This came "courtesy the Portuguese Empire, and one of the jewels in the crowns of the Portuguese territories was Goa" (13:40–14:23).

Some of the early Portuguese books were seen as seriously useful to other countries of Europe. For instance, João de Barros was reprinted into Dutch in 1706 and 1707, in multiple editions (Scholberg *Bibliography* 163-165). Manuel de Faria e Sousa's work was translated into English in 1695 in London as *The Portuguese Asia; or, The history and the discovery and conquest of India by the Portuguese...* (Scholberg *Bibliography* 158). An edition came out from in 1866 from the Hakluyt Society, the 1846-founded London-based text publication society, a registered charity then aiming at publishing primary records of historic voyages, travels and geographical material. The 1509-born Fernão Mendes Pinto's voyages and adventures were translated into English in London at the end of the nineteenth century. Considering the later role that other European powers played in colonialism in Asia, this might not be very surprising.

There are other connections which are also relevant to our study. Print historian Murali Ranganathan ("Go East!" 38-41) has argued that "the 1850s saw the emergence of Poona, now Pune, as a new centre of print in Maharashtra." It may be relevant that the first Konkani periodical, a weekly, though it has been sometimes described as a fortnightly, called *Udentichem Sallok* (Desai 163) was started by Eduardo Bruno D'Souza at the end of the nineteenth century from Poona itself. Its masthead could be loosely translated to *The Lotus of the East.* The year of its founding has been variously described as 1899, 1888, 1889, 1893 and 1894 in various current online sources.

Background to the study

When Shakespeare was writing, he wasn't writing for stuff to lie on the page; it was supposed to get up and move around.

—Ken Kesey, 1935-2001, novelist, essayist, countercultural figure.

The societal background: Goa in the twentieth century can be understood in the context of the phenomenal and repeated changes it has undergone. Describing the situation, the American anthropologist Robert S. Newman who first visited the region as a young traveller in the mid-1960s and then as a researcher in the late 1970s, when writing in the early 1980s, said: "Events since 1961 have resulted in substantial social change in Goa." (Newman, *Festivals* 23) Elsewhere, Newman has also argued that "It is a time of great change and uncertainty, surely the greatest since the conquests and conversions of the 1500s." (Newman, *Festivals* 146)

Goa has repeatedly changed in the twentieth century, and these changes have happened in different, often conflicting, directions. The century started with Goa being ruled by the Portuguese Monarchy, which in a decade, by 1910, saw the beginnings of the Republican Revolution, and by 1926 saw a military *coup d'état* that ended the First Portuguese Republic. This was overtaken by a Right-wing dictatorship, that would last long. The second of these trends saw the delinking of religion from politics, which affected the local literature and overall participation in social life. This gets discussed in two books published almost a century apart, the first by António de Noronha in 1922 and the second by Varsha V. Kamat in 2019. By the 1940s, the social ferment from India and other factors led to the birth of a campaign, initially for civil liberties and then for an end to Portuguese rule. Lohia (8) comments: "I came to Goa without plan or purpose..." Even during this campaign, there were divisions within the movement (Heredia). The 1950s saw an Indian blockade from 1955 and

escalating protests from Goa and often beyond, seeking to end Portuguese rule in Goa. The 1960s proved to be a tumultuous period, with the first Goan election of 1963 seeing the resounding defeat of the Indian National Congress (R. Joshi). Incidentally, the Congress was India's ruling party which had overseen the end of Portuguese rule in Goa. This was at a time when the Congress was repeatedly winning elections across almost all of India, and when pro-incumbency factors saw governments in power continually winning electorally. Yet, the Goa result emerged after campaigns by groups to both the Left and the Right of the Congress. The 1960s and 1970s then witnessed the public discourse in Goa get fragmented and polarised over issues of language and merger with the large adjoining State of Maharashtra. This trend in politics changed at the start of the 1980s, with the Congress coming to power after securing the merger into it of the United Goans Party and some other former Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party politicians. This had its implications in a religiously-polarised Goa. The 1990s saw Goa repeatedly face political instability, leading to the toppling of many governments here, due to factors which were also related to financial lobbying and real-estate speculation rather than political reasons alone.

The impact of such tumultuous changes on the region and its literature is easy to appreciate, but also possible to overlook. On the one hand, it would have understandably affected the writing, publishing and distribution process. At another level, these happenings have also shaped the story being told, where themes have focussed on the life of the Goan under colonial rule (L. Mascarenhas), conflict caused by religious intolerance and conversions (Sail and Zimler), the turmoil in coping with the drastic changes of the 1960s (A. Gomes and Pais), for example.

It is inconceivable that such changes would not affect the written and printed word here. Beyond the political, there were other deep-seated changes too. The changes on the front of language have been noted elsewhere in this study. See Chapter 5: Prose, Politics, Power: Language Shifts and Other

Non-Literary Trends That Have Shaped Writing in Goa.

Goan migration trends continued to change in form and direction. This came about in large part because of developments in other parts of the globe, such as the demise of direct European colonialism in East Africa and Asia, the Japanese entry into Burma (Vaz Ezdani) in 1942, the Partition of India, de-colonisation and Africanisation in East Africa including the rise of Idi Amin in Uganda that gets depicted in a mildly disguised fictional work that is situated in the country of 'Dambia' (Nazareth), the opening up of the petro-dollar boom in West Asia — starting with Basra in Iraq (Domnic Fernandes), and now being centered in places like Dubai and the rest of the UAE, Kuwait (Anthony Veronica Fernandes), Qatar, Oman, Saudi Arabia, among others; the post-1974 demise of Portuguese colonialism in African nations such as Angola (L. Figueiredo) and Mozambique, the moving out of Pakistan by Goans in Karachi (Menin Rodrigues), the heavy migration of Goans from Bombay and Goa to the West and Australia (Gonsalves)-New Zealand, and in smaller numbers to places like Norway (Ivo de Figueiredo) and other such factors. Many of these developments reflect directly or indirectly on the literature produced mainly in languages like English (Rangel-Ribeiro, "Goan Writing in English") and Portuguese (L. A. Rodrigues, "Goan Literature in Portuguese Language"). These languages have, till rather recently, been used more by the minority community who comprise the bulk of the migrating sections. However their story sometimes gets reflected in Konkani books such as Mauzo's *Karmelin* but also at times in the other locally-used language, Marathi.

There were also changes taking place in other spheres. In the 1920s, the demographic pattern of Goa changed — first due to out-migration from the region, and four decades later, in the 1960s, due to significant in-migration following Goa's integration with India. At the start of the twentieth century, the Catholic majority, which had been migrating to places like Mangalore from the seventeenth century (A. Machado 97) and later to Bombay from the late

nineteenth century, were reduced to a minority, with some implications on the political discourse, languages used and literary production. Other changes could be cited in the field of gender equations, education levels, and social and economic relations in rural Goa. The *de facto* demise of the *comunidade* system (V. Monteiro 42-43) in the 1960s, accompanied by the acceptance of the one-man-one-vote principle of universal franchise, amended the power equation in Goa and also significantly eroded the nature of the previous elite domination of the literary production process. Other factors which contributed to this shift were the home-stead tenancy and agricultural tenancy laws, and also the out-migration of a section of the earlier elite, who found it difficult to cope in a changing situation. Such developments redefined the nature and structure of hegemony within Goan society.

The intellectual background: Major intellectual and philosophical movements, home-grown or originating from a distance, have shaped Goa's literary production too. In the period under study, the birth of the Republican Revolution of 1910 has been seen as a landmark development in the free expression of ideas in colonial Goa (Ataíde Lobo and Noronha 12). Earlier, in the nineteenth century, only limited sections of privileged Goans were given the vote to elect representatives to the parliament in Lisbon.

The rise of a Hindu consciousness has been elaborated on recently by Varsha Kamat (ix-xii). This was, significantly, also accompanied by the growth of several community-founded libraries (Menezes Rodrigues 20-24), aimed at capacity-building and knowledge-generation, including among the less-affluent sections of Goan society. Maria Pia de Menezes Rodrigues, a former Curator of the State Central Library in Panjim, explains the situation thus:

Most private libraries [in the early twentieth century] were either opened by Hindu individuals or Hindu associations [at the time a minority within the population of Goa]. Education in Portuguese-ruled Goa was conducted in Portuguese.... The material

which interested them most in those days was on Indian history, culture, religion and literature, mainly written in Marathi. Since this type of reading material was not provided in government and municipal libraries, the only alternative was to start their own libraries. After the Republican Revolution in Portugal in 1910, a growing number of Hindus became well conversant with the Portuguese language and had acquired much knowledge of the language. Still, the necessity of public libraries run through private initiative was felt because of the thirst to read material published in Indian languages, especially Marathi, and to a limited extent in Sanskrit for religious literature. (20)

Janardan Vishnu Kamat founded the Parodem Marathi Granthasangrahalaya in Paroda, Quepem in 1907 (Ataíde Lobo "Quests"). The term can be used for an archive or library, or translated more literally a 'book museum'. Ataíde Lobo has noted a significant trend among Catholic intellectuals, particularly from the third quarter of the nineteenth century, which views the promotion of the reading habit to shape conscious and informed citizens. Likewise, the impact of the diaspora writing on Goa is noticeable particularly around the third decade (*The Goan World*) and after the sixth decade of the twentieth century, the latter being the decade when the then significantly expatriate-focussed monthly *Goa Today* was launched. In 1983, Peter Nazareth undertook the task (Nazareth, "Alienation") of compiling and editing an anthology of Goan writing (Nazareth and Henry). Other writers (Young) have also focussed on Goan writing from distant places across the globe.

There are reasons for the dominance of Goan cultural production by centres outside Goa, till very recently, roughly around the 1980s. This has been the case in the world of theatre (André Rafael Fernandes 44-48), Konkani film (A.G. Viegas; Dantas), periodicals and books, music and lexicography. The high rate of out-migration meant the younger and vibrant sections of the population were often settled in centres like Bombay, Poona, Karachi, Kampala, Nairobi,

Mombasa, Basra, Abadan, Lisbon and elsewhere (John Nazareth). Some of them had been educated in the English language. They were also situated in cities where early access to technology and economics favoured the growth of the cultural industry. As mentioned above, while figures of Goa's diasporic population are not easy to access or simply do not exist, hints of its size come up by way of other figures. For instance, bank deposits from NRIs in Goa crossed Rs 14,000 crores in 2018 ("Banks on a high...." 1, 4). Post-1980s, the centre of Goa's cultural production has shifted back to the state, due to both economic factors and enhanced local technical potential.

The professional background: The period under study, especially its later phases, saw developments in literature-creation and publishing in Goa that make it worth studying. Political changes, outlined above, which were rapid and drastic, also played a major role. Besides, post-1960s Goa, and the phase before that too, saw the rise of Goan writing in English, Marathi and Konkani, for differing sets of reasons.

Besides these factors, economic issues also reshaped the size and efficacy of Goa's printing and publishing sectors. However, till current times, these sectors in Goa have stayed small, compared to the printing-publishing sectors in the larger neighbouring cities such as Mumbai, Pune, Bengaluru or even smaller centres such as Belagavi, Hubbali and Kolhapur.

After many decades of the absence of printing, and a delayed re-start of publishing activities in the early nineteenth century, the twentieth century saw some small but significant growth in the sector in Goa. Nonetheless, books published in this era are difficult to locate, and sometimes even unknown or completely forgotten. There are many gaps and divides, including those of language or geography, in the field. Yet, Goan writing has been gaining acceptance since the last two decades of the twentieth century. The Brazil-based Argentinian academician Cielo G. Festino recently found it of interest to study the syllabus of local colleges (73-92).

Publishing in Goa has grown since the arrival of the first small to medium corporatised publishing houses that consolidated after the 1980s. Today, a few, organised corporate players in the shape of Rajhauns Vitaran or Rajhauns Sankalpana, Broadway Publishing House, both in Panjim, and CinnamonTeal Publishing in Margão which is part of the May 2006-launched Dogears Print Media Pvt. Ltd. This gave rise to a new trajectory. Publishing in Goa in the twenty-first century has continued to face challenges. These include printing difficulties, the lack of access to ISBNs numbers (Noronha "Is the ISBN System..."), and financial pressures due to demonetisation and the application of GST or the Goods and Services Tax on printing (Thangarasu, et al 8). The growth of Indian publishing just prior to and after the arrival of the twentieth century in Goa, the rise of English-language skills (Kurzon), changes in printing and publishing technologies (Caetano Fernandes), the possibilities of outsourcing publishing-related activity such as printing, and the rise of the small players are all factors material to the growth of publishing in Goa in recent decades.

The research background: Publishing is a little-understood discipline in much of academia, more so in settings far from the publishing centres. The role of printing in Goa has not been much studied; and when it has been done, such studies have been cursorily done. Mangamma has argued: "As is well known, it is printing that helps preserve and, more than that, popularise a literature. To study about printing in India is to study the early Christian literary activity in and around Goa" (87). But studying South Asia can also be complex. Abhijit Gupta has cautioned that any attempt to build a pan-Indian history of the book could run "the same risk of being collapsed into an undifferentiated narrative" (147-148). He points to the differing regional experiences in diverse regions of India, leading "to a certain extent" to regional histories of the printed book in parts of South Asia. For instance, this is the case with Goa and the Malabar coast in the sixteenth and seventeenth century; the three presidency cities of the

British Empire — Bombay, Calcutta, Madras — in the eighteenth and nineteenth; besides, Serampore, Dhaka, Lucknow, Benaras, Colombo, Lahore, etc., at various times.

Simone Murray has argued that book publishing and academia seem to share "the most natural of alliances", and the latter is "predisposed to bibliophily" especially in the humanities. Yet, in reality, publishing was till recently seen primarily as a means to disseminate research, not an "explicit subject" (Publishing Studies 3). With publishing courses growing over the last few decades, the field is now looking to

reconfigure itself as a critical — rather than merely a descriptive or vocational — field ... [and academic work on contemporary book publishing industry] exists at the periphery of academic sub-disciplines such as literary studies, bibliography and librarianship, communication, media and cultural studies, sociology, history, or in research centres focused upon interdisciplinary topics such as gender, sexualities or national identities. (3)

But rather than seeing book publishing "as a fringe intellectual undertaking by groups themselves wedded to the principle of inter-disciplinarity" (Murray 3), it could be critical to also building a better understanding of the literature of a complex region, such as Goa.

Roadmap

Despite its early encounter with the printing press, it was only in the nineteenth century that we come across consistent native activity in this field (Ataíde Lobo and Noronha 1). The history of print in Goa, since its early entry, has been mixed. Its trajectory has been markedly inconsistent, with it acting both as a centre through which Europe understood Asia at times, and, later, a 'print-shadow region' where no publishing activity took place for significant

periods. By the end of the twentieth century, Goa turned into another small area with only a little local creative output, in its small but rather diverse daily and periodical press (Melo e Castro *Lengthening Shadows*; Mishra). However, there were signs of an emerging diversity of books. Goa saw the rise of some languages and the demise of others; subsequently, the dominant languages became the marginalised and *vice versa*. This aspect is discussed in Chapter 5.

Political change impacted various other sectors. Goa was marked by at least four major and distinct periods or political trends. This, in turn, as argued above, shaped the way the region was able to express itself and find its voice. In 1910, the centuries-old Portuguese monarchy was replaced by the Teófilo Braga-headed Portuguese Republic. In the 1920s, anti-clericalism, religious ferment and out-migration were strongly felt. Both the World Wars affected Goa, though Lisbon kept out of World War I until eighteen months into the conflict. Clashes over Portugal's colonies in Africa, food shortages and the Spanish flu killed 12,000 troops and 220,000 civilians. Portugal stayed neutral in World War II, despite pressures from both sides. This period gets reflected in Victor Rangel-Ribeiro's *Tivolem*, set in between the Wars in a village in Goa, and James Leasor's *The Boarding Party*, a story which glamorises the British role in World War II with an unusual link in Goa also, depicted in the 1980-produced film *The Sea Wolves*.

This period was followed by the India-supported campaign against Portuguese rule in Goa particularly in the 1950s; the blockade imposed by New Delhi against Goa; the dramatic end of Portuguese rule following the military action of 1961; the turmoil after 1961; the merger and the language disputes that arose; and the dislocation of the earlier publishing system and language usage of the earlier era. These factors shaped the literary production of Goa. As could be expected, some related works of fiction and non-fiction emerged after the heat died down over the issues mentioned, and have been published sometime in the early twenty-first century. These include the works of Kanekar, Sinari,

Ranade, Lawande, Ramani on Operation Vijay, while other authors such as F.J. Colaço and Lawrence have taken a stand which largely contests the present dominant view.

This research attempts to study various aspects of how Goa responded in creating its literature, amid such situations. The chapters look at literary production and consumption in Goa during the period under study.

Chapter 1 'Situating Goa in its Wider Context' presents the background of the dissertation; the context for the study; its background — including intellectual, professional and research; its roadmap; the context beyond Goa. It also explains the significance and rationale of the study. Likewise, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks are explained. These include the research purpose, research questions, and methodology. The Core-Periphery model, that has been applied in other fields, is connected with the world of literary production. The Core-Periphery perspective is introduced in this chapter. It seeks to situate book publishing and literary creation in Goa in the context of the core-periphery debate. Goa's is not a simple, unidirectional, case. It cannot consistently and easily be fitted into one position or the other in the periphery, neither in the core, of the 'world system of book production', to adapt a term to our theme. Goa's is a distinct case which has seen radical changes within the world of book publication over time. By the twentieth century, Goa's role was diminished and clearly marginalised, allowing it to claim such a position in the 'periphery', or even a position right at the outer extreme of the book publishing world. But this wasn't always the case; a closer look would indicate that Goa was very much close to the 'core' of the Asian publishing world in the mid-sixteenth century. In this chapter, the review of literature; scope, limitations and delimitations are mentioned, while the key terms used are also explained.

Chapter 2 is titled 'Power and Periphery: The geographies and economics of literary production and consumption in Goa'. It looks at the *hows*, *whys* and *whens* of the creation of twentieth-century Goan writing. It looks at the

processes that brought this about, including the history, technology, publishing options, economic possibilities and market situations. The influence of this tiny region's unusual history on the printed word in Goa is particularly significant. For instance, while Portugal ruled Goa, Lisbon itself was ruled by Spain. For some time Goa was blockaded by the Dutch in the early seventeenth century, and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil was the Portuguese capital between 1808 and 1821 as the French had invaded Lisbon. Goa itself later saw the British station their troops here around the start of the nineteenth century. Likewise, Goa became "a thriving cultural, religious and diplomatic hub in the eighteenth century, building close relations with the foremost continental empires of the day – Mughal, Maratha and Mysore" (Carreira Cover copy). Printing got off to an early start in Goa but also saw long periods when it completely vanished and the press stayed shut. There was a major break post-1961; this came in due to sudden changes in language, economics, the direction of the political discourse, changes in commercial networks, publishing patterns and even the local newspaper sector. This chapter also focuses on the market for ideas and those associated with creating it – the printers, publishers and libraries active in the period under study – and also the politics of the written word, besides control over it. It also takes note of libraries set up by subaltern groups in the early twentieth century.

Chapter 3 titled 'Economics and Efficacy: The author's position in a small society', concentrates on the position of the author in a small society and small market, the limits on entry, and class biases in creating literature. Goa's writers have often had to struggle to get published, both within and beyond Goa. This continues, with only a few exceptions who manage to get selected by major outstation publishers. Migration opened up new possibilities, however. There was also a disruption of part of the traditional elite control by the end of the twentieth century. The glass ceiling which blocked the author in Goa was created by factors such as technological limitations; political censorship for a

significant part of the twentieth century, largely between the early 1930s to the start of the 1960s; market limitations and the limited size of the market; Goa being by this time on the periphery of the 'publishing world'; the challenges and difficulty of entering this world; and the distance between possible publishers and the potential market for the work published. To break into the market, an author has had to try out various options to ensure that his or her work got published. A lack of skills in multiple languages has also stymied the growth of writing in Goa. There have been efforts and attempts to build the literary culture through other not-for-profit, voluntary or funded initiatives – with book promotions, literary events, and even book publishing activities in a tiny society. This chapter also looks at reading in a small society, and initiatives from the third quarter of the nineteenth century, which viewed the promotion of the reading habit to shape conscious and inform citizens. Such initiatives came up among both the Catholic and Hindu communities.

Chapter 4 'Beyond Home, Into the Metropole: Publishing Goan Writing Away From Goa', underlines the role of the Goan diaspora in creating the region's literature. Goa, like other Portuguese colonies and Portugal itself, has been a strongly emigration-oriented society. Newman has argued that Goa has among the highest rates of out-migration in the world (*Mothers* 59). Goa has had occasional publishing and literary links with distant and even unexpected regions of the globe. Over the decades, Goans have written in eighteen or more languages that include Konkani (in five diverse scripts), English, Portuguese, Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit, Pali, Kannada, Sinhala, Tamil, French, German, Spanish, Norwegian, Latin, Kiswahili, Italian and Swedish among others, and possibly Burmese and Russian too. Aleixo Manuel da Costa, 1909-2000, collated bibliographic details of some 11,000 publications by Goans from Goa and across the globe, written in 14 languages. He then converted this into a biographical publication covering some 2000 writers from Goa. This chapter also looks at the influences of other languages on Goan writers; and the challenges of getting

published outside Goa.

Chapter 5, titled 'Prose, Politics, Power: Language Shifts and Other Non-Literary Trends that Shape Writing in Goa', focuses on the language shifts in twentieth-century Goa. Across the centuries, the rise and fall of the power of diverse languages give a hint of power equations in the area, in a strongly multilingual region. In particular, the history of literature in twentieth-century Goa is the story of shifting linguistic power and language trends in the region. These shifts in language have come about due to official policy; migration of individuals and groups; political influences from within and outside the region; cultural influences in fields like entertainment and music; educational policies; colonial approaches; and the Central Indian government policy on linguistic states, among others. The push for promoting diverse languages in Goa has also come from varied quarters. Over time, Goa has seen a shift in the relative power of different languages.

Chapter 6 offers a summary of the thesis and also discusses issues that emerge from it. It restates the statement of the problem, and explains the methodology used to approach it. It is argued that "politics, economics and Goa's rather unusual history, have shaped the literary production of this region in more intense ways than just the intrinsic ability of a writer would determine". After setting the context, both within Goa and beyond, it relates the Core-Periphery model with the world of books in Goa. It summarises issues raised earlier in the thesis, including the impact of 'power-shifts' on the book in Goa, the influence of the diaspora in shaping this field, changes brought about on the language front, literary demand or the lack of it, and changes in the publishing sector. Other issues listed here are the insights gained from the study, its implications for practice, and recommendations for further research.

In the appendices, the research present a timeline of the printed word in Goa, a focus on Marathi novels, an interview with a widely-experienced non-resident writer, and a comparative look at developments across the world

while correlating the same to the world of the book in Goa. The acknowledgements pay tributes to the individuals and institutions that accompanied the researcher's journey through the world of books and ideas.

The context beyond Goa

Roughly a generation ago, Philip G. Altbach (*"Publishing in India"*) argued that most in the Third World have had only limited access to the world body of knowledge. In his view "even information about their own countries is often hard to come by" ("Literary colonialism" 226). These parts of the world, it could be argued, fell under the *periphery* of global publishing. One reason, he explained, was that the majority of publishing houses in the world were then either located in, or controlled by, the West. In 1978, Altbach saw the difficulty of publishing in the Third World, as part of a larger relationship of dependence of 'developing countries' on the 'industrialised' nations. His research was also based in India, and he argued in favour of "expanding Third World autonomy in the area of knowledge production." As Altbach put it,

Third World nations are, in a sense, at the periphery of the world system of knowledge, with the industrialized nations at the center of that system. This situation, which some analysts have called dependency, is in part a natural result of the legacy of colonialism, the imbalance in the world's scientific production, and the general internal problems of the Third World – poverty, illiteracy, the lack of a large educational system, and many others. ("Scholarly Publishing in the Third World" 492)

By now, at the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century, the situation has vastly changed in a country like India. Book publishing is booming today, and the numbers emerging are impressive. With 90,000 books published each year and 19,000 publishers, India claims to be the world's sixth-largest

publishing industry. This demand is fuelled by "home-grown authors, who write in Indian English, speak of things people in India associate with and aren't a hit because of an international award. They write about their lives, for people who think like them" (TFIPNL). By 2013, while global book sales reported by Nielsen BookScan were declining, India's was up by 16% (Sen).

These figures, however, tell one side of the story. It can be argued that such optimism about India overlooks the reality prevailing in major parts of India, outside of metropolitan India and the larger cities. When it comes to large parts of India itself which are now on the 'periphery' - for reasons of either geography, culture, history or because their issues are not adequately understood by the 'mainstream' — there is a famine for regional and relevant books (Raju). Such has been the situation in Goa for much of the twentieth century, and indeed for other points in time, excepting a brief blossoming of this region as a centre of the global exchange of ideas in the mid-sixteenth century. Due to a lack of options faced by potential authors, writers from Goa at times had to get their works published in places such as Lisbon or London, New Delhi or Mumbai, among others. Henry H Chakava has argued that "creativity is stifled through curtailment of literary seminars, journals and writers' workshops, and a general lack of facilities or incentives to promote and reward....". A similar case could be made on account of the lack of a publishing ecosystem. Creativity and writing can face bottlenecks due to a lack of outlets, or the absence of sufficient demand for such output within a society.

This study analyses factors arising in Goa which make it either fit within such a scenario or counter such possible trends. We see which factors, if any, have helped or hindered the production and spread of local literature, knowledge and information in a small society, as is the area on which the case study is based. The processes and politics that have taken the written word, or the manuscript, and shaped it into the final text, will be analysed. As of now, this aspect of literary production in Goa awaits adequate study.

Significance of the study

We will have total chaos without books, literature, and library. —Anne Waldman

The literature of a region shapes the area in many critical ways. While there is a general understanding of *what* has been produced by way of the written word by Goa and her people, one could argue that this has not been done in sufficient detail. There has also been very little work done on *how* this was produced. Because of Goa's historic connection with the accidental arrival of the first Gutenberg-type printing press in Asia over four and half centuries ago, this region becomes a place of special significance for such a study. This is more relevant because the limited number of studies that exist on the history of the book in India, largely follow an Anglo-centric trajectory and focus largely on printing in British Indian territories. Or, at times, on printing in the early nineteenth century from 1801-1837 in the Danish colony of Serampore or Fredericksnagar, which was outside British control. Without underrating these developments, the need is to study all aspects of the printing-publishing story adequately.

There were many achievements of the Serampore Mission Press which cannot be overlooked. It is credited with having produced a total of 212,000 copies of books from 1800 to 1832, Bengali translations of parts of the Bible, Christian tracts, Indian literary works, dictionaries, grammars, dialogues or colloquies, Sanskrit phrase-books, philosophical titles and mythological tales, translations of the Bible in twenty-five Indian vernaculars and other South Asian languages, and many 'vernacular' textbooks (Ghosh 26-27). Among these was Oriya (Shaw 33). Serampore was also responsible for the early Bengali newspaper and magazine, Bible translations into some 50 languages — from Indonesia to Afghanistan, books in almost 45 languages and even the first newspaper in Bengali, the biweekly and bilingual Bengali-English *Samachar*

Darpan or the 'Mirror of News'. This probably led to a growth of skills among Bengali printers and compositors. It printed books in Sanskrit, Bengali and other languages using the Devanagari types for the College of Fort William, set up by the British Governor-General and the East India Company officers, whose library incidentally became the nucleus of the Calcutta Public Library, which is the predecessor of the Kolkata-based National Library (Kopf 467).

On the other hand, at another level of the Core–Periphery 'conflict', there can be other hierarchies and power-structures at play. Kopf wrote in 1966:

For many Indians, particularly for Bengalis, names like Serampore Mission and William Carey conjure up images of a generation of giants who pioneered the linguistic modernization of India's major languages. However incredible it may seem to us now only decades removed from the twilight of European imperialism in Asia, many Indians still idolize an English Protestant missionary named Carey whom they view as [the] father of modern Bengali prose and as [the] progenitor of their cultural renaissance. Western scholars on the other hand (with the exception of the usual chroniclers of the Christian missionary movement in Asia) have consistently ignored both Carey and India's exalted image of the Serampore generation. (145)

Nair has argued that "Calcutta is the birthplace of the Press in India," the reference being to newspaper publishing (vii). Nair has noted that "English, Bengali and Hindi journalism had their origin in this metropolis. The Calcutta Press chronicled the birth, growth and death of the British Empire in India." Nair profiles Hicky "the Father of the Press in India" and the *Indian Gazette, Gladwin's Gazette,* and other little-known eighteenth-century journals in eastern India. He has noted that that "…Persian was the vehicle for official communication in India in the eighteenth century and Portuguese was the *lingua franca* in Calcutta" (12). Incidentally, the Portuguese language has a history in the

subcontinent, which tends to be easily overlooked today. Pissurlencar has argued that the Portuguese language influenced several Indian languages and has maintained that Portuguese was the *lingua franca* in India during the sixteenth, seventeenth and even the eighteenth centuries. Shastry and Navelkar cite him as have argued that

The Portuguese and their activities in India are referred to in Indian literature. Poems, chronicles, ballads, folklore and letters in Sanskrit, Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Urdu, Konkani, Marathi, Persian and Arabic speak of Portuguese activities in the fields of politics, trade and commerce, religion and warfare. (Pissurlencar "Os Portugueses" 44)

Karthik Malli, an independent researcher into historical and comparative linguistics, has however pointed to another side of the reality. He has noted: "Portuguese [was] the largest source of European words in Indian languages until the British emerged as the dominant colonial power in India." For example, he has explained the origins of the now considered Indian term *ayah*, which traces its roots to *āiā* in Portuguese, which means 'maid' or 'lady tutor'. In some Indian languages, and also Indian English, he pointed out that '*aya*' means 'maid', 'nanny' or 'nurse' (TianChengWen).

Sivasundaram argues, by citing the case of the 'Serampore trio' of Baptist missionaries, Rev. William Carey, Rev. William Ward and Rev. Joshua Marshman, that science and Christianity were intimately related in early nineteenth-century British-ruled north India. Beyond printing, for which their role has gone down in Indo-Anglian history, the "Serampore Baptists practised a brand of Christian and constructive orientalism, devoting themselves to the recovery of Sanskrit science and the introduction of European science into India" (111).

This study attempts to understand Goa's role in the world of printing and publishing, a complex role which has changed in unexpected ways, and on

multiple occasions, over the past half-millennium. Contrary to what might be expected from Goa's early involvement with printing, the region did not manage to sustain itself as a centre of printing or publishing, or as an important global point for the exchange of knowledge and information. By understanding *what* happened and *why*, an attempt is made to draw lessons from history and explain the changes that have taken place. Given Goa's role as the former capital of Empire, a term used by Carreira in the subtitle of her 2014 work, it is apparent that not sufficient studies have been conducted on its literary and intellectual history. Some works that have been published, Aleixo Manuel da Costa; Xavier and Županov (Barreto Xavier and Županov); Rochelle Pinto, have also been inadequately noticed, either because of the language these were conducted in, the centre where the books were published, or even the pricing of these knowledge products.

This study could be relevant to many smaller publishing centres, as it helps to understand the factors which block a society from expressing itself effectively. It seeks to understand Goa within the context of the core-periphery of global publishing, how its role shifted across time, and what were the effects.

Goa, today too, remains an under-researched area, especially within the state itself. While foreign and outstation scholars have undertaken some important work here, this is not the case often with locally-generated research. Resultantly, the delimitations of this study are firstly marked by the restricted number of studies already undertaken in this field in Goa. This results in gaps in the information available, leading to a dependence on chance to find relevant details. For instance, in the current discourse in Goa, there is very little mention of the 'Casa Luso-Francesa'. It was set up in 1901, identified also as Casa Luso-Franceza-Editora (Scholberg *Bibliography* 294) and was created among others by António Maria da Cunha, the founder of *Heraldo*. It was the first publishing house and book store to operate with a concept of the two parallel ventures supporting each other. This venture received the support of an

important publishing house in Lisbon, Bertrand, and Ataíde Lobo gives the details that led to its creation ("O desassossego..." 75-76). Similarly, a lack of research on local themes makes connected issues seem disjointed. Goa and its diaspora world, are often seen in isolation from one another.

In terms of its potential, this study could help to understand Goan publishing in its wider context and offer lessons for both the current industry in the region, as well as those in smaller regions that make up the publishing 'periphery' elsewhere. Taken together, these comprise large parts of our world even today. These are critical gaps which need to be bridged and new potentials opened.

The rationale for the study

Despite Goa having a unique role in the history of the printed book in Asia, the role of printing in Goan history has been inadequately understood. Given its early positioning as a print hub in Asia, at a time which saw the rise of the Western powers and Islamic gunpowder empires (Najjaj 624-626), what explains the paradoxes of Goa's long print history? Or, to raise more basic questions: what *is* Goa's print history, and what are *its paradoxes*? This dissertation looks at one tumultuous period of Goan history, its twentieth century. The period has been chosen for study as it represents a variety of trends telescoped within the span of a century. These trends brought in tumultuous changes in the influence of various languages used locally. Newer publishing models showed up around the end of the century. The twentieth century coincides with the period from when Goa saw its first bookshop-cum-publishing house set up, Casa Luso-Francesa, and concludes around the time when Goa's small publishing sector changed significantly, earned private and governmental subsidies, and began to show a period of unexpected growth that has continued amidst an uncertain present.

This study appears suitable for four reasons. Firstly, the research aims to understand the changing nature of Goa's publishing, printing and the literary

world, both fiction and non-fiction, particularly over the twentieth century. Such an overview is currently unavailable. Secondly, there have been only limited attempts so far to catalogue the resources created by way of the printed page in Goa. For instance, the ambitious four-volume bibliographic listing by Aleixo Costa, Literatura Goesa, Scholberg's bibliography and the annual compilation of books published in Goa that get catalogued in the Official Gazette, are three such notable efforts. In 2019, the Granth Abhiman initiative of local publisher Rajhauns Sankalpana, is also worth noting. Beyond this too, there is also a need to explain these trends, interrelate the same with wider historical and political forces, and to make sense of the seemingly inconsistent trends that Goa has seen over the centuries. The third reason was to build an understanding of the growth of the book and the printed word in Goa since the mid-sixteenth century. This growth has not happened in a straight trajectory, as noted. Fourthly, the history of the book in Goa likewise awaits being studied and understood in the wider pan-India context, partly because of the continuing Anglo-centric influences on research in South Asia. Goa needs to be understood as compared and contrasted with the situation in other regions of India, the rest of the Portuguese-speaking world and former Lusophone colonies too, as well as other similarly placed smaller literary enclaves of the globe. Goa has parallels and dissimilarities with places as disparate as Serampore/Serampur and Tranquebar/Tharangambadi, Brazil, Calcutta/Kolkata, Lisbon, among others.

Theoretical framework

The thesis statement

Literature in twentieth-century Goa was shaped by a range of diverse factors, often distant from the writing process itself and largely beyond the control of the author. This is evident from an examination of the publishing and printing sectors as functioned then; technology available, deployed or lacking; economic options to get books into print; the political changes of the era; the fluctuating dominance of different languages used; the vast global or limited regional market available for information or creativity; and other such factors. This is also evident from an examination of Goa's untypical history and the way in which this shaped printing and the book emerging from the region; trends in the literary production of Goa since the mid-sixteenth century but particularly in the twentieth; the operations of presses, publishing and the difficulties authors faced to get into print; the impact of the diaspora author on the cultural production of Goa; the fluctuating dominance of different languages used in the region in the twentieth century and the impact this had on literary output, and other such factors.

Research purpose

The purpose of this study is to catalogue and explain the effects of the wider social reality on literary production in Goa during the twentieth century. In doing so, the politics and history of the twentieth century — in Portugal, India and Goa itself — are compared with, and viewed alongside, literary developments both in this small region and its diaspora.

Research questions

The questions in this research are:

- What non-literary trends and developments affected book publishing in twentieth-century Goa?
- In what way did these developments impact authors, literary creation and literary output?
- What is the significance of Goa's history of printing and publishing in the wider context of India, South Asia and the rest of the globe?

Methodology

This work aims to describe the characteristics of the population by examining samples, the group consists of persons, books, institutions and processes connected with writing, printing and the publishing trade in some way connected with Goa.

The study has primarily used observations and interviews. The sample was selected based on the resources available. Attempts were made to keep focused on representatives of different categories reflecting diversity of geography, language, gender, and diverse centres of Goan migration. Variables that could affect the writer's work in material ways were acknowledged, such as diversity in languages used and centres of publication. Inputs from writers and those in the publishing and printing trade were sought. The timeline of Goan authorship aims to create a more detailed setting and explanation of the background of the subject under study.

Developing a conceptual framework

Going by the World Systems Theory, 'core' countries are usually the industrialised, capitalist countries. As against this, the periphery and semi-periphery countries depend on this core. To apply such thinking locally, Goa, being involved in a 'colonial matrix' from an untypically early period in the encounter of Asia and Europe, could be seen as a colonial centre of sorts. It was dependent itself on a colonial power situated one continent away. At the same time, Goa herself played an important role as an outpost of that colonial power itself, for a significant part of her own history in recent centuries.

Core countries usually play a dominant role in the global market. They obviously also benefit from this. Being wealthy nations, they have wide access to resources, their own or those of others. This, in turn, places them in a favourable position as compared to other states. Likewise, they also possess strong state institutions, a powerful military and have networks of dominant global political alliances. Juxtaposing this analysis to the world of printing, Portugal itself gained early access to printing around 1487-1489 not *only* because of its geographical location within Europe, but also due to its then-dominant role in the world markets of its time, its accumulation of wealth, and its access to a "wide variety of resources" apart from its military adventures and endeavours for power and control. Goa's role differs, and this region gained its access to printing not because of its own power, but due to its proximity to the major global power of the time, Portugal.

But core countries do not always stay permanently in their position, as the core. Across time and over the paths of history, the list of core nations has been changing continually. New ones have been added to the core list, while earlier ones have dropped off that list. For instance, Asian, Indian and Middle Eastern empires were considered to be the core of the global economy till some time before the sixteenth century. China and India enjoyed "economic strength [compared to] Europe's relative weakness in the global economy" between 1400 and 1800 (Gunder Frank). Gunder Frank has argued that "the common global economic expansion since 1400 benefited the Asian centres earlier, and more than it did Europe, Africa and the Americas. However, this very economic benefit turned into a growing absolute and relative disadvantage for one Asian region after another in the late 18th century" (PE-50). Editor-historian-novelist and vice-chancellor K.M. Panikkar, 1895-1963, saw the dividing line of this era as suggested in the title of his book Asia and Western Dominance: A survey of the Vasco Da Gama epoch of Asian history, 1498–1945. Around this point of time, Goa emerges in the story, with the arrival of printing here in the mid-sixteenth century. The arrival of printing built a different type of links between Europe and Asia, that in some ways influenced the relationship of the next few centuries. Europe dominated the global economy till sometime into the twentieth century. At that point, two devastating World Wars disrupted their economies severely. This allowed the late-entrants into the conflict, the United States, and the Soviet

Union, to become the new *hegemons*. Both the US and the USSR continued in a dominant position up to the late 1980s. Resultantly, a bi-polar world saw itself in the grip of a Cold War. Dominant regions of the globe, today, are primarily wealthy and well educated Western Europe, North America, Australasia and Japan. The rise of some Asian economies in the twenty-first century is seen as possible, but not entirely certain.

The fate of nations depends on the position they take in the global economy. These fates do not remain static but change over time. It has been argued that both wealthy or core, and poor or periphery, states need to exist to allow global capitalism to function ("Core and Periphery"). Barriers prevent the poorer citizens of the world from participating in global relations, and such barriers can be both physical and political. Besides, there is a staggering disparity of wealth between the countries of the core and the periphery. For instance, 82 per cent of the world's 2017 income went to the richest one per cent of people (Oxfam).

Wallerstein has argued in the heady days of the revolutionary 1970s that "both in the sixteenth century and today the core and the periphery of the world economy were not two separate 'economies' with two separate 'laws' but one capitalist economic system with different *sectors* performing different functions" (2). Global trade and labour are organised in a hierarchical structure, and this benefits the core states. In this theory, which makes sense too, wars or global financial disputes can be seen as an attempt to change the position of a state, or a group of states, within the market. Here, the aim is to gain control over global markets, to rise to the position of core states, or enhance a nation's position within the core states. On the other hand, the losers in a war or financial dispute can lose their control as well as their core status. In comparison, countries lying in the periphery are far less affluent than those at the core. They also depend often on agriculture or natural resources for their economy. This results in the core countries profiting from the situation. Countries at the periphery usually

offer much lower wage levels, when compared to the nations at the core. Due to this, capitalist enterprises often find it profitable to locate their production facilities in such underdeveloped, or euphemistically termed 'developing', nations.

Beyond the core and the periphery, there is also another group of countries, called the semi-periphery. These are nations or regions which 'surround' core countries. The term 'surround' can be interpreted in either physical or fundamental ways. Such countries in the 'semi-periphery' may act as the 'middlemen'. To do so, they help to channelise resources, taking these from the poor countries to the rich countries.

In the world of printing and books, Goa could at some stages also be considered a semi-periphery, or even core, region within the context of the Portuguese or European core of mid-sixteenth century printing. In the world of books, the disparity between regions stems primarily from a lack of access to technology, printing facilities, know-how, and the entire infrastructure needed to create and distribute a book. On the other hand, the pioneers of printing in Asia saw the press as a means to disseminate their ideology or worldview, thus spreading hegemonic control, and at the same time using it to collate and absorb information from the periphery which could be of immense use to readers back home at the core.

In effect, capitalism only masks its 'structural relationship' with the non-capitalist, through the pretence that it seeks to 'develop' the traditional and backward parts of the globe, by relocating enterprises in the so-called underdeveloped regions. What it does, is to prosper at the expense of the economies of the pre-capitalist world. In the world of the book, the case of Goa makes it clear that the printing press set-up was not meant for the 'development' of the local region but rather for the needs of the metropole; or, at best, the 'needs' of the local region as perceived by the metropole.

The Centre-Periphery model is an attempt at explaining the

conflict-prone relationship between production and distribution in different parts of the world. It also attempts to prise out the exact links between particular areas of the centre and periphery. This model gets deployed by other world-system theories too, through terms such as 'dependent accumulation' (Frank), 'unequal development' (Amin *et al*) or 'economic dualism' and 'neo-colonialism'. Frank, for instance, divides the period of the "world-embracing process of capital accumulation and capitalist development" into mercantilism (1500-1770), industrial capitalist (1770-1870), and imperialist (1870-1930) (xi).

Situating Goa's role in global trends can also go back longer in time, and be seen from other perspectives. For instance, Portugal reached Goa at the start of the sixteenth century, a period considered to be one of vigorous economic expansion for Europe. The period from 1500-1648 also witnessed the emergence of Modern Europe. Europe had seen a decline, or a stagnation, of its population for two centuries before 1500. This trend was reversed around 1500. European 'discoveries' made that continent more integrated into the world economic system. Commodities brought in from 'new' lands enriched European life (Krondl).

Following this, capital accumulation resulted in new ways of organising production. The Renaissance and Reformation approaches caught on across Europe, and this led Europeans to adapt how they saw both themselves and the world. Early capitalism was born in this era; it is worth noting that it did not bring in prosperity for all in the lands, nor stability. Spain saw rampant depopulation (Hobsbawm 34); it also was the heaviest borrower in Europe at the time, and was affected by six bankruptcies between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. In "All that glitters...", Drelichman undertakes a detailed discussion of how Spain's seventeenth-century long-term economic stagnation was triggered by the windfall of precious metals from the Americas, absolutist rule and the "peculiar privilege structure of Spanish society in the

sixteenth century" (313). Europe saw a general crisis in many of its regions in the mid- to late-seventeenth century. Mortality higher than the sixteenth or eighteenth centuries; epidemic disease; de-industrialisation in Italy, most of Germany, parts of France and Poland; the Mediterranean and the Baltic saw probably temporary declines in trade (Hobsbawm 35). For the very first time in history, the Mediterranean. stopped being a major centre of economic and political or cultural influence; instead, it became an impoverished backwater (34). Europe's poor turned more visible too. Of relevance to understanding change in Goa is that the newly centralised states began to push ideas of cultural conformity onto their subjects, some who were situated a continent or more away.

In Europe, members of the Jewish minority got expelled by several states, religious dissenters were not tolerated, and while churches were reformed, paranoia and hysteria were generated by fears of 'witches'. The newly centralised states of Europe began to push ideas of cultural conformity onto their subjects; the Portuguese did likewise in Goa.

The Core-Periphery Model in other fields: The Core-Periphery model describes and explains the structural relationship between the advanced or metropolitan 'centre' and a less developed 'periphery'. It is applied usually within a particular country, a region or even at the global scale between capitalist and underdeveloped regions of the globe. Such analyses have been used to study fields like political sociology, political geography and labour-markets. Core-Periphery analysis has also been applied to other specific fields. For instance, in archaeology (Cressey) or migration (Pekkala Kerr), imperialism (Taché), land and popular politics (Jordan Jr), relations within a regional bloc like the European Union (Celi *et al*), higher education (Lepori, *et al*), among others. In economics, it has been pointed out that "there is a strong link between political power and the share in the world economy" (Kennedy). This could be juxtaposed against the world of literary creation, authoring and

book publishing as well. Thus, a case can be made that there are similar links between political power, economic power and literary creation.

The Centre–Periphery model, which is also called the Core–Periphery model, describes and explains the structural relationship between the advanced or metropolitan 'centre' and a less developed 'periphery'. It is applied usually within a particular country, a region (see, for instance, Biswaroop Das's writings on Goa) or even at the global scale between capitalist and 'underdeveloped' regions of the globe, which have been sometimes euphemistically termed as the 'developing' world.

At the global scale, the expanding political role of China and India in recent years, in the context of the core-periphery equation, has been taken to imply that "a strong political position can be built on peripheral products, which are produced on a large scale". Szul has argued that the global economy is presently "dealing with world decomposition involving the divergence of economic and political powers, partly because periphery nations such as China and India are gaining political strength" even if on a rather "fragile and leaky economic base" (15).

Hryniewicz of the Warsaw University, questions whether this theory, going back to the 1970s and 1980s, "can be used to describe international economic relations in the process of creating a global knowledge-based economy". The research found that the thesis was supported on four of six counts — falling profitability of leading products with their production transferred to the periphery; thus bringing benefits to investors and core nation societies; capitalism in the core being of a financial nature and based on speculation; and financial speculation in the core leading to the political destabilisation of the periphery. But it was not sustained on two counts greater the participation of periphery nations in the international economic system, the greater losses they suffer; and the greater benefits to the core nation.

Core-Periphery thinking is associated with economic underdevelopment

and dependency. It draws on the Marxist tradition of analysis and is linked to the world system of production and distribution as a unit of analysis. Underdevelopment is a concept within the general theory of imperialism; it is caused as part of the process necessary to develop capitalism in the central capitalist countries and the reproduction of capitalism globally. Hence, in the central core of capitalist countries, there is a high *organic composition of capital*, and wage-levels are relatively high. The 'organic composition of capital' is defined as the ratio of constant capital to variable capital. Constant capital is invested in plant, equipment and materials; variable capital is spent over wages. Peripheral countries have a low organic composition of capital and low wage-levels. The cost of reproduction of the labour-force there may be subsidised by non-capitalist economies, such as rural subsistence production. Likewise, in peripheral economies, production and distribution may be determined largely by non-market forces such as kinship or patron-client relations.

Review of literature

Goa's role as a "former capital of Empire" (Carreira) implies that the lack of sufficient studies on its literary and intellectual history stands out all the more. Some of the few works available, such as Aleixo Manuel da Costa; Scholberg (*Bibliography*); Xavier and Županov; and Ataíde Lobo; have also been inadequately noticed by the discourse closer to Goa. This has happened because of the language these works were published in, the centre where the books emerged, or even due to the pricing of these knowledge products.

Locally, over the past decades, some texts focus on the printing press in Goa. Among these are texts by Loyola Furtado, *A Imprénsa em Goa*, Priolkar (The Printing Press) and Barros. At the wider level, Gupta is of the opinion that: "Goa, which has been the cradle-land of Indian printing in the 16th century, also received belated attention in the form of Rochelle Pinto's 2007 study *Between* *Empires: Politics and Print in Goa*" (159). An attempt is made to bridge this gap, by locating a range of discourses.

Alvares Menezes has argued that catalogues and bibliographies "in the field of Indo-Portuguese history are virtually non-existent" (375). He has noted that for the Historical Archives of Goa, some of the best catalogues, however, are Panduronga Pissurlencar's *Roteiro dos Arquivos da India Portuguesa*, 1955, Dr V.T. Gune's *Guide to the Goa Archives*, 1973, Prof. C.R. Boxer's 'A Glimpse of the Goa Archives', Dr T.R. de Souza's 'Portuguese Source Material in the Goa Archives for the Economic History of Konkan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', and M.N. Pearson's 'The Goa Archives and Indian History'.

Scholberg's *Biography of Goa and the Portuguese in India* devotes much of his 414-page book to titles related to Goa and the wider issue of the "Portuguese in India". *Biography of Goa...* is the third of a trilogy of bibliographies by Scholberg on the Europeans in India, following similar ones on 'British India' and 'French India'. The first two were *The District Gazetteers of British India: A Bibliography* (1970) and *Bibliographie des Français dans l'Inde* (1973). In the third, praised as his "magnum opus" on the book jacket, he argues:

At first, any title was included as long as it seemed to have something to do with Goa or the Portuguese in India. However, we discovered later on that though some of the titles might once have existed, today they do not seem to be in anyone's library. Therefore, we decided that if we could not verify a given tome as existing in a library or private collection, we would not include it in this bibliography. Dr John Parker, [the] curator of the James Ford Bell Library, said it best: "Why perpetuate a ghost?" (ix)

Former librarian, college principal and education administrator, late Newman Fernandes viewed the issue from another angle. He responded:

When I saw Scholberg's Bibliography, I was surprised by its size. How

could 326 pages be sufficient for such a vast field? Perhaps it would have been better to publish it in volumes so as to assure comprehensiveness. But this does not decrease the merit of the work. Only a person who has compiled bibliographies knows how arduous the task is" (48). Publisher Butani sees Scholberg's work as "a complete inventory of what there is in Goa and in Lisbon and London... a whole and heavy bunch of keys for unlocking the portals of Indo-Portuguese history. (413)

Earlier studies have come from Anant Kakba Priolkar and José Antonio Ismael Gracias on printing and the press in Goa. José António Ismael Gracias list the books and newspapers printed in Goa, from 1557 (*A Imprensa*). Ismael Gracias has recalled the existence of prior censorship of the books that were printed

Most of the books we have mentioned have been printed with prior censorship and licenses, including those [the books] of Archbishop Dom Gaspar!... What do these censures and licenses show even for books written by people of acknowledged letters and piety?... (23)

The book also looks at the periodical press in Goa, from 1821 onwards. This includes government-run official journals; political journals; literary journals including *A Biblioteca de Goa, O Encicloédico* and *O Compilador, O Gabinete Literário das Fontainhas, O Mosaico, A Revista Ilustrativa,* among others. Other literary journals were *Recreio Bimensal; Tirocinio Literário; Recreio das Dunas; Ilustração Goana; Harpa do Mandory – a journal of poetry; O Recreio Mensal; O Cronista do Tissuary; Instituto Vasco da Gama; Album Literário* and *A Estreia Literária* (Batista Ferreira).

Pendse has an interesting analysis which looks at the issue from the perspective of Information Studies. It *inter alia* "demonstrates the use of

nineteenth-century Portuguese literary periodicals of Portuguese India as evidence of Indo-Portuguese identity formation and hybridities" (iii).

Ataíde Lobo's work is from the perspective of History and Theory of Ideas; with useful detail about an otherwise little-understood period of early twentieth-century Goa. She says her approach was to "some aspects of the History of Goa, from the Constitutional Monarchy [1910] until the foundation of 'Estado Novo' [1933], as viewed by its intellectual elites" ("O desassossego goês" viii). Among the issues studied are the affirmation of native Catholic elites; caste; reading and cultural promotion; writing and cultural mobilisation; local tensions amidst colonial relations; 'nativism'; the secular state and modernism; language policies; Hindus and the Portuguese Republic; the origins of the Provincial Congress; the Indian National Congress and its colonial models; Indian nationalism on the European stage; among others. Because it comes from another language discourse, Ataíde Lobo's study adds to the understanding of the period.

António Maria da Cunha and Rekha Mishra have studied journalism and the periodical press.

Besides the limited number of studies on the printed word in Goa, there are also other works on the region dealing with issues of relevance to this research. Biswaroop Das' unpublished thesis on Goa gives an insight into the disparity within regions of Goa itself. Though this work deals with themes other than books or literature, it is relevant to understanding the Core-Periphery gap, and how it can operate at diverse levels, in Goa. In the twenty-first century, there is a growing literature related to Goa emerging. But this too needs to be adequately studied.

Scope, limitations and delimitations of the study

The scope of this study is restricted to books from twentieth-century Goa and does not cover newspapers or other periodicals. The text here will imply a

printed book. Other non-book forms of print publications such as magazines or newspapers, and electronic or non-print forms, are beyond the scope of this study. Periodicals or newspapers may be occasionally referred to when relevant to books or the wider process of printing of books, such as newspaper presses which also printed books. It covers books published in Goa, whether authored by people identified as Goans or otherwise. It may be pointed out that the early printing in Goa was wholly a European-led process. The thesis is also focussed on books authored by Goans in the diaspora, who form a significant part of the local discourse because much of this publishing activity has been directly related with their home region and the wider community.

The thesis is language-neutral; the language a book was written in is not a factor for exclusion from this discussion as long as the theme relates to Goa, or the author is linked to the region. See the debate over the definition of 'Goan' earlier in Chapter 1.

Likewise, it considers within its scope any developments which shaped the book and its growth in Goa.

Limitations of the thesis, in terms of factors which are beyond the control of the researcher, include the reality that some authors of the period of the study are currently not accessible, living or available. Given the scattered, and largely under-studied nature of books related to Goa, some of the relevant texts too were not accessible. In some cases, even information was hard to come by, for instance about the Marathi books published in Goa, or a conclusive list of the many *Romans* pot-boiler novels authored by Reginald Fernandes. Even in related fields of Goan culture, a whole lot of research remains to be done. Popular Konkani singer Alfred Rose, in his career spanning six decades and going back to the 1940s, is said to have sung thousands of songs, five thousand according to some claims (F. Rodrigues 04:42–04:48). An attempt to list his songs (Verdes) resulted in only some 518 numbers featuring being identified as of August 2019. Dantas, in a select listing, compiles the names of some 634 of

Alfred Rose's songs (*Alfred Rose* 60-64).

The struggle to get access to local information about the history of the book, and printing, in Goa, has been felt for some time. In 1956, historian Dr George M. Moraes in Bombay wrote to the head of the archives:

I am interested in the first two printers of Goa – Quinquencio and Endem (both João's) – of whom ... Gracias speaks, in his monograph on "Imprensa". Could you refer to the volumes, possibly in the archives, which give the list of passengers that came by boats [sic] from Portugal, and let me know when they came to Goa, i.e. the date of their arrival and the ship bet. 1553 and 1561. (46)

Likewise, some printers active during part of the twentieth century are not currently traceable. Little, if anything, has been written on the printing presses and publishing centres which processed Goan thought in the past century, and public memory too has all but forgotten the role played by such individuals and institutions. This is particularly true of small printers, often working out of places some distance away from Goa's then small towns. In keeping with local traditions, a few books have been published without mentioning their date of publication, leaving one guessing about their publishing history.

The multiplicity of languages used by local writers, the limited number of translation happening between these diverse languages, the restricted number of libraries storing Goa's literature that goes back centuries, the demise of many 'production houses of Goan thought' of the past without a trace or study, and limited record-keeping on a topic of this nature, can be seen as the other limitations. In dealing with a multiplicity of languages and scripts, modern technology can at times prove to be helpful. One case in point is the Konkani script conversion utility, called the 'Konkanverter', developed by the World Institute of Konkani Language of the World Konkani Centre, Mangalore. It was launched around or before 2012. The Konkanverter converts Konkani Text

"written in one script to another, adhering to the orthographic practices of output script. It uses a software programme specially developed for the purpose" (Konkanverter Beta). Its site promises that "Konkanverter will help Konkani writers reach out to a readership base almost four times larger than the present one."

Not only is it difficult to access original or copies of printed works that emerged from Goa, but the same is the case for lists of writings of a particular genre in a language used by authors from Goa or the diaspora.

The scattered nature of the Goan diaspora and inadequate record-keeping of the writings of even prominent writers from the region is also another factor that needs to be considered. Leaving aside the challenges in finding books published in the last century, the nature of Goan authorship and publishing — mainly dependant on self-publishing, printer-based publishing or small publishing houses — also implies that even books published a decade or two earlier might be rather difficult to locate. Such difficulties are faced repeatedly not just by undergraduate students in Goa, but even by their teachers working to build syllabi and reading lists.

The thesis is limited by a restricted amount of previous work in the field, or, at times, insufficient visibility for, or translations of, such work. It restricts itself to a certain period – the twentieth century – and certain books, certain authors and a certain form of knowledge generation and dissemination. It briefly mentions some of the developments in Goa's book history during other centuries, since the launch of the first printing press in Asia in the mid-sixteenth century. But such mentions are only cursory and inadequate to arrive at a wider understanding. Subsequent studies may overcome these limitations.

As with any qualitative study, this too faces limitations related to reliability and validity. As Wiersma has argued, "qualitative research occurs in the natural setting [and thus] it is extremely difficult to replicate studies" (211). Case studies, admittedly, also have limitations. As Simon and Goes argue: "We

cannot make causal inferences from case studies, because we cannot rule out other alternative explanations. It is always unclear about the generality of the findings of a case study" (2).

Delimitations – arising from the accepted boundaries of the study and by conscious or other exclusionary and inclusionary decisions taken here while working on the study plan – also need to be considered. The delimitations include the choice of studying *only* the twentieth century, both for reasons of practicability and proximity in terms of the time period chosen. Working on a wider time-frame for the study could have been unfeasible, considering both the difficulty to access reliable information from the earlier period as well as the diversity and further complexities that it would have involved.

The other decision was to choose books only relating to the concept called Goa, which, it could be argued, is an artificial construct based on political conquest, and in a greater degree, by treaty or regional conflict and intrigue, as already mentioned.

Likewise, the spread of printing has been neither uniform nor consistent in *all* the geographical areas of what today forms the State of Goa. At another level too, the areas most affected or influenced by Goa's print history have been small parts of this region, which then made up 'Goa'; yet, this study looks in general at the region which today comprises the entire State. These choices were made more on grounds of convenience, so as not to get caught up in defining which areas should be studied.

Opting to cover books written in all languages used in Goa and among the Goan diaspora settled in varied countries across the globe, carries with it the risk of missing out on the finer nuances, some crucial details and specific cases. But the choice here was nonetheless made in favour of being as comprehensive as possible, despite the above risk.

Furthermore, choosing books as a topic reflects one's own predilections on the subject. For personal and intellectual reasons, this topic has held the

researcher's interest both during the period of study and for a long time prior. The researcher's collection of books related to Goa began in the mid-eighties, while a young journalist and university student. A collection of Goa books grew into an interest in reviewing books related to Goa, and finally being a small publisher of such books.

At the same time, for this thesis, in terms of a choice of theoretical perspectives, the Core-Periphery theory was deployed to explain the ebb and flow of the fate and fortunes of the book in Goa. While it is *only one* of the many possible prisms through which this issue can be seen, it offers the serious possibility of explaining peaks and valleys in the reality of the book in Goa. This trajectory has not been uni-directional, and neither has it been aloof of all non-literary factors. In view of this, the Core-Periphery theory would appear to be an apt case for an analysis of this nature. It seems a more directly relevant option for a case like Goa's, which grew from being a major outpost of empire to the smallest state of India.

The thesis is based on a qualitative paradigm. For its methodology, it used descriptive research and described the characteristics of the population by directly examining samples of that population — books, authors, publishers and printers of twentieth-century Goa. The study made use of observations and interviews.

The thesis does not intend to cover the quality of the literature produced, any study of individual authors — apart from where these serve as explanatory cases, and neither does it attempt to go beyond the twentieth century in its approach.

Definition of key terms, concepts and identities

Access to knowledge: Starting from the early twenty-first century, a global movement that links access to knowledge to principles of justice, freedom, and economic development. It has been noted that large parts of the globe had only limited access to the world body of knowledge. Project Gutenberg, the world's first digital library, launched in 1971, is still active today at gutenberg.org. Others part of this trend include Open Access journals since 1987, ArXiv in 1991, Stevan Harnad's 'Subversive Proposal' of 1994, SciELO or the Scientific Electronic Library Online in Brazil since 1997, the Public Knowledge Project of Canada dating to 1998, for-profit BioMed Central operating out of the UK since 2000, the Creative Commons network launched in 2001, the Public Library of Science 2001, the Open Journal System free software 2001, and the Budapest Open Access Initiative 2001. archive.org also has a number of shared links, a few of which are related to Goa.

- **Book:** UNESCO's definition of a book focuses on a 'bound non-periodical publication having 49 or more pages.' The US Postal Service accepts an object as a book if it is a 'bound publication having 24 or more pages, at least 22 of which are printed and contain primary reading material, with advertising limited only to book announcements.'
- **Book business:** Refers to book publishing and the industry related to it. Once individual and unorganised, it has more recently grown large and corporatised in some parts of the world. Because of the small size of the market, and other factors, the 'book business' in Goa is still driven by individual operations. This topic is also connected with issues and concerns such as the alleged death of print, digital reading, the rise of online vending giants like Amazon and Flipkart, the role of social media in changing the field, digital creation and marketing of books, etc.
- **Bookfair:** An exhibition for those connected with the book trade. It helps to showcase products or services, allows them to meet others in the industry and customers, to study rivals' work or examine market trends and check opportunities. Some book fairs are aimed at business visitors, and others at

consumers too. New Delhi is home to two such events. Lisbon has the *Feira do Livro* in summer, around June. At the world's largest book fair at Frankfurt, trade dominates the first three days while the public can attend on the last two days.

- *Colóquios dos simples e drogas de cousas medicinais da Índia*: One of the most ambitious early works to emerge out of the printing press in sixteenth-century Goa, possibly published in 1563. It was authored by the Jewish-Portuguese physician, herbalist and naturalist Garcia da Orta. Orta was a pioneer in tropical medicine, pharmacognosy the study of drugs in their natural or crude state, through medicinal herbs or other plants and ethnobotany, the plant lore and agricultural customs of the people. This book contains 57 conversations between da Orta and his imaginary colleague Ruano. The lengthy title of the work is *Colóquios dos simples e drogas he cousas medicinais da Índia e assi dalgũas frutas achadas nella onde se tratam algũas cousas tocantes a medicina, pratica, e outras cousas boas pera saber.* Or "Conversations on the simples, drugs and materia medica of India and also on some fruits found there, in which some matters relevant to medicine, practice, and other matters good to know are discussed".
- **Copyright:** The exclusive legal right given to a work's creator or owner to decide how the work may be used. Copyright applies to original expressions of ideas, and not the ideas themselves. Copyright extends for 50, 70 or even 100 years after the death of the author in different countries. Today, the right is widely seen as an incentive to the author. Yet, the origins of copyright in Europe can be traced back to efforts by Church and State to control the output of printers.
- **Colonial Act (Acto Colonial):** A Portuguese law which reworked the relationship between the metropolis and its colonies. Approved in 1930, during the

'National Dictatorship' that preceded the Estado Novo, it was republished in the 1933 Constitution and amended in 1935. It was based on the theories of the inviolability of territorial integrity, imperial nationalism and the civilising mission of Portugal with a "historical and essential function of possessing, civilizing and colonising overseas dominions". The Colonial Act ended limited financial and administrative autonomy of the colonies, set up governors-general in the colonies, and centralised decisions in the Ministry of the Colonies at Lisbon. Colonies were prohibited from foreign borrowings. Concessions to foreigners were restricted, and it ended the right of private companies to enjoy the privileges of sovereignty in colonial concessions. With this, the metropolis became the supreme arbiter, especially in the economic relations between colonies, and between the colonial and the metropolis. After the constitutional revision of 1951, this imperial view was theoretically abandoned and replaced by a strategy aimed at assimilating civilisations from the colonies into the metropolis, ultimately aiming to create a political order of total integration, autonomy, a federation or confederation, etc. To match this amended vision, the colonies were renamed as "overseas provinces".

Copyleft: A system of creating and sharing information and knowledge that moves away from copyright. It encourages the distribution of copies and modified versions. Certain conditions may apply while doing so. Rather than the 'all rights reserved' approach of copyright, it uses 'some rights reserved'. There are different variants: copies to be made but not sold, copies may be allowed but not derivative works, the original content creator may be needed to be acknowledged whenever the work is reproduced, and so on. Copyleft has been applied for software, art, writing or documentation, besides other fields. There are special licenses that have been crafted for varied uses of copyleft.

- **Core** (*as_in_***Core_and Periphery):** Also called the 'centre'. Refers to countries which are major world powers, control much of the planet's wealth, and are dominant in other ways. In contrast, the 'periphery', countries are deprived of their share of wealth, affluence, resources, or access to knowledge, in this case, etc. Used in diverse fields.
- Doutrina Christam em lingoa Bramana Canarim, ordenada a maneira de dialogo, pera ensinar os mininos, por Thomas Estevao, Collegio de Rachol 1622. Or, Christian Doctrines in the Canarese Brahmin Language, arranged in dialogue to teach children, by Fr. Thomas Stephens, College of Rachol, 1622. One of the early books from the Rachol press.
- Estado Novo: The four-decade-long authoritarian, autocratic and corporatist political regime in power in Portugal from 1933 to 1974. Corporatism seeks to shape society as corporate groups having shared interests, as agricultural, labour, military, scientific, or guild associations. Seen as a means to avoid social conflicts, for society to function harmoniously like a human body (corpus). It grew in Catholic social teaching; sometimes linked to Christian Democracy, authoritarianism or Fascism. Also called Salazarism after its founder and leader António de Oliveira Salazar, and marked the end of liberalism in Portugal. The Estado Novo was perhaps influenced by Maurrasianism of Charles Marie Photius Maurras. Maurras also influenced the Action Française, National Catholicism and *nationalisme intégral* and, indirectly, several far-right ideologies. He was a predecessor to some of the ideas of fascism, Lusitanian Integralism, the social doctrine of the Church, as well as some aspects of the doctrine and practice of Italian Fascism. The National Dictatorship, between 1926 and 1933, and the Estado Novo together lasted 48 years. This made it the longest authoritarian regime in Western Europe in the twentieth century.

Font: The combination of typeface and other qualities — size, pitch and

spacing.

- **Goan:** Refers to someone linked or identifying with the region of Goa, either by residence or descent. The issue tends to be complicated by the reality that Goa, as far as its current borders go, was 'invented' through accidents of Portuguese conquests and treaties signed with local rulers. In addition, the significantly large Goan diaspora implies further complications in identity and acceptance within the definition. See the discussion at the beginning of Chapter 1.
- **Goan diaspora:** The community of Goan-origin persons settled outside its current borders.
- **Goan writing:** Writing related to Goa, Goans and its diaspora, undertaken in a range of languages.
- Gutenberg-based printing technology: See movable types below.
- Indian Language Publishing: Publishing in local, non-English, languages in India.
- **Islamic calligraphic tradition:** Handwriting and calligraphy based on the alphabet in regions sharing a common Islamic cultural heritage. Arabic Calligraphy, Ottoman, and Persian calligraphy are considered part of it.
- **Konkani publishing:** Refers in this context to the peculiarity of publishing for a small language, scattered across different states, divided by scripts and dialects, aided by some official support in Goa.
- Language shifts: Also called language transfer, language assimilation, or language replacement. On undergoing this process, speakers of one language, over time, shift to speaking a completely different language. Language shifts in Goa would also affect publishing of twentieth-century Goa, and beyond. 'Assimilation' involves speakers of a language turning

bilingual and, after a while, shifting over to the second language. Language death involves a linguistic community stopping to use its original language.

- Lingoa Bramana Canarim: One of the terms used by the Portuguese to describe the language or languages they encountered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in coastal western India, around the area of today's Goa, or part of it. The Konkani language has at various times also been called *lingua bramanica, canarim* or *lingua canarim, lingua brámana canarim, brámana de Goa, Gomantaki, Goani, Concani, Amchi Bhas, Konknni, Govi* or *Goenchi Bhas* at various points of time in history and by different language speakers
- **Lithography:** Printing from a flat surface that has been treated to repel ink in all places except where it is required for printing. It was brought to South Asia in the 1820s (Shaw 1998). In South Asia, it struck a cultural chord, particularly with Muslim communities. It enabled the printed book to imitate the characteristics of the manuscript, which still held cultural authority (Robinson 2000) (Eliot, *et al*).
- **Literary production:** The process that leads to the creation of literature or scholarly writing. Pierre Macherey's *A Theory of Literary Production*, originally written in French, focuses as much on the reader as the writer. He has argued that "the very act of reading is a form of production in its own right, generating interpretation and meanings which are beyond the control of the author."
- Literature: The body of written work relating to a particular language, period or culture. In this case, the works related to Goa and its people. It has also been defined as imaginative or of creative works which are of a recognised artistic value. Can include the five genres of poetry, drama, prose, non-fiction and media. Here, it is taken to include both fiction and non-fiction.

- **Manuscripts:** Written or typewritten composition or document, as against print. Also refers to a document submitted for publication. In India, the production of manuscripts on a large scale lasted till about the mid-nineteenth century, making for a very rich manuscript collection.
- **Metropole, the. Or "O Metrópole":** Used by Portuguese writers often in colonial times to denote Portugal. This term is also used by historians and post-colonial studies scholars to signify a colonial power (Pendse 41).
- **Movable type:** Technology which caused the Gutenberg print revolution in Europe and was also the kind used in Goa's first printing press of its kind in Asia in 1556. A system of printing that uses 'movable' components for the purpose of printing on paper. Before Gutenberg, porcelain material was used for printing in China around the eleventh century (Needham 14).
- **Non-book:** Print publications that come out in forms such as magazines or newspapers, and electronic.
- Non-print: Refers to forms of knowledge dissemination, and other containers of knowledge, which do not use print. Includes a range of formats such as audiobooks; e-books; microfiche; microfilm; micro cards; microprint; slides; filmstrips; audio cassettes; compact discs; laserdiscs; CD-ROMs; DVD and Blu-ray; educational microcomputer software; maps, globes, atlases or charts; video games; sheet music and scores; or audiovisual materials.
- New Conquests: The hinterland areas of current-day Goa, conquered or annexed by treaty by the Portuguese in their second round of expansion sometime in the late eighteenth century. These areas include the sub-districts of Satari, Bicholim, Pernem, Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem, Canacona and the recently-created Dharbandora. Also called the *Novas Conquistas*.

- **Old Conquests:** Refers to one of the two main subdivisions of Goa, named after when the area conquered, or acquired by treaty, by the Portuguese. Goa's central core, or the Old Conquests, was conquered and acquired by the Portuguese in the early-to-mid sixteenth century. The outlying areas were acquired as late as the eighteenth century, at times by treaty. For their initial 1510 conquest of Goa, the Portuguese deployed the services of Timoja, or Timmaya, called "a Hindu corsair — pirate or privateer — in the service of Vijayanagar ... who controlled the coastal belt from Cabo de Rama to Anjidiv" (Souza "The Portuguese in Goa" 24). Albuquerque's closeness to the Vijaynagar kings saw the latter force the Adil Shah out of the mainland adjacent to Goa and encourage the Portuguese to occupy these areas. Leaning on the support from a contestant to the Adil Shah throne, the Portuguese could gain by formal treaty the territories of Bardez and Salcete, thus quadrupling their territory in Goa by the mid-sixteenth century. Bardez, Tiswadi and Salcete, including Mormugão, were part of the 'Old Conquests'.
- **Offset printing:** A late-nineteenth, early-twentieth-century printing technique, which sees an inked image 'offset' or transferred from a metallic plate to a blanket, and finally onto the printing surface. The lithographic process is based on the repulsion of oil and water. It can be used along with offset printing. Modern 'web' printing involves the feeding of a large reel of paper into a huge press machine, in parts. As the paper is fed, it gets printed continuously.
- **Print-on-demand:** POD. Usually involves digitally printing a few copies of a book, based on how many are needed.
- **Open Access movement:** See *copyleft*, above. Open Access, in the scholarly world, refers to sharing scholarly research online with anyone who would

like to access it. *Gratis* open access only makes it freely readable. *Libre* Open Access allows others to read, copy, distribute or even modify the text.

- **Printing processes:** Refers to the techniques and technology used in the process of printing. There were vast changes in typographical and printing processes being used during the period under view, twentieth-century Goa. At the international level, printing technology changed significantly since the introduction of offset lithography in 1904, to commercial silk screen printing in 1907, the dry electro-photography which got later known as the Xerox since 1938, the invention of the phototypesetter or Fotosetter in 1947, Xerox's first automatic xenographic printer in 1955, thermal transfer bar code printers since 1979, laser printers from 1969, inkjet printers from the late 1970s, among other developments ("Printing History Timeline"). In Goa, in terms of typography, the technology changed from letterpress to Linotype, and the use of Apple Mac computers, as in the case of O Heraldo/The Herald newspaper once it shifted to being an English-language daily in 1983. Photographs of the Government Printing Press, formerly Imprensa Nacional de Goa, available online (Noronha, "GoaPrinting") also give a hint of the earlier change in technology.
- **Production and processing centres of Goan thought:** An informal description of the print and publishing centres of Goa, including of past decades.
- **Polyglossia:** The coexistence of two or more languages, or even distinct varieties of the same language, within one speech community. This term traces its origins to the 1970s and comes from *poly- + -glossia*, after *diglossia*.
- **Publisher:** Refers to an individual or institution whose profession or business involves various aspects related to the publishing of books. It may also involve newspapers, periodicals, computer software, music. The head of the organisation, its owner, or main representative, is also referred to as the

publisher. In twentieth-century Goa, the role might not have been so clear-cut though.

Publishing as a business: Refers to the activity of publishing when it is commercialised and is run as a business. Such an approach to publishing, though taken as the norm currently, has implications for the books published, the author-publisher relationship, the types of books produced, pricing of books, and other important aspects of the process.

Printer-publisher: A printer who also plays the role of a publisher.

- **Publishing services:** A process wherein the author is offered services to himself or herself prepare and issue a book – or music or other material — for public distribution, especially for sale.
- *Romans*: A Konkani term for a novel or fictional work. Elsewhere, in literary and literary critical terms, a 'Romance' refers to any narrative in verse or prose, written in a vernacular language in the Middle Ages, dealing with strange and exciting adventures. In Konkani, the parallel term is spelt as '*Romans*' and refers to a mass-selling and inexpensively priced novel written by a popular author, not necessarily with a romantic theme. Prominent Konkani authors of the '*Romans*' genre included Reginald Fernandes of Siolim and Caridade Damaciano Fernandes of Aldona (Team Cafe).
- **Self-published work:** Published by an author or by deploying his/her own money. Currently, other models of self-publishing are available; but in the Goa of the twentieth century, this would primarily mean an author directly approaching a printer and paying him to print the author's own work.
- **South Asia's manuscript culture:** Refers to a trend once enormously productive and well organised. It comprised professional scribes, patrons, 'amateurs' who made copies for their own use or for family members and others.

- **The book trade:** Refers to those who form part of the industry. Includes booksellers, book buyers, librarians, media, marketers, salespeople, publishers, among others. In smaller places like Goa, this has been unorganised, often with multiple roles telescoped often into one.
- Third World: After the demise of formal colonialism in the second half of the twentieth century, this referred to countries which were not part of the affluent 'North' comprising mainly former colonial powers or the 'First World'; or the Communist/Socialist Eastern Bloc or the 'Second World'. Countries of Africa, Asia, and South America have often got collectively called the Third World. Contrary to the view that this is a derogatory term, it traces its origins to the French demographer-anthropologist-historian Alfred Sauvy who compared these countries to the earlier French *Third Estate* of the French Revolution times, who, as opposed to the clergy and nobles were powerless. Now gets often replaced by terms such as least developed countries or LDCs, developing countries, or the Global South.
- *Tiatr*: A popular form of the modern Goan Konkani drama, first staged in April 1892 in Bombay by diasporic Goan communities based there. Still actively followed in Goa. Its artistes earn their living from this vibrant form of culture. Sometimes treated disparagingly by local elites because of its association with folk performances.
- **Trade books:** Those books which are usually stocked by general book stores, or are online 'best-sellers' and in public libraries. These can include e-books and audiobooks. Covers romance, novels, thrillers, biographies, history, cookbooks, children's books. But it excludes academic books, school books and textbooks.
- **Trade publishing:** The branch of the book publishing business that places books in libraries and book stores. The books one would probably see in bookshops, created for consumer readership.

- Tranquebar: A town on Tamil Nadu's Coromandel Coast in South India. Now called Tharangambadi, 15 km north of the former French colony of Karaikal, it was India's first Danish trading post, since around 1620. Sometimes claimed to be the home of printing in India by those less familiar with non-Anglocentric accounts of South Asian history.
- **Type:** Movable type is a crucial input that made European-style printing of the mid-15th century possible. Metal movable type was introduced in Europe by Johannes Gutenberg. Movable type is made up of separate pieces of hard material, usually metal. These are then positioned in a rack to compose the lines on a page. Both China and Europe independently invented movable type. This created the possibilities for widespread dissemination of information and information revolution because of the possibilities to produce large numbers of identical documents, using and reusing the movable type.
- **Vernacular revolution:** The process by which parts of South Asia saw a change around the year 1000 CE. It challenged the monopolisation of the literary creation process by Sanskrit, fragmented centralised political power and led to the rise of new regional power bases. Pollock has argued that the 'vernacular millennium' began almost simultaneously in southern Asia and Western Europe around the year 1000 CE and developed over the following five centuries. In India, vernacular languages like Kannada, Telugu, and Marathi replaced Sanskrit. In Europe, vernacular Romance languages such as French, Italian, and Castilian Spanish got used by authors for literary purposes in place of Latin.

Summary

This introductory chapter starts by underlining the importance of the printed word, and the processes and factors by which ideas get transformed into

text. The concept of 'Goan' is discussed, and Goa is sought to be situated on the Core-Periphery, or Centre-Periphery, divide of the literary world, from its heyday in the mid-sixteenth century to current times. The power-shifts among dominant and peripheral languages is also noted. The background of this study is situated among the phenomenal changes that twentieth-century Goa has repeatedly witnessed. Besides intense political swings, the changes in the world of demography, migration, education levels, the rural-urban equation, gender issues and social and economic relations are also pointed to. So is the role Goa has played in lithography, education and libraries noted. The background to the study is outlined; this includes the intellectual, professional and research backgrounds. The roadmap focuses on the start of native activity in Goan printing in the 19th century, the limited creative output of the time, the rise and decline of languages and a mention of the four major political periods of twentieth-century Goa. By way of the context of books beyond Goa, the access to books elsewhere in the 1970s, and more recent book publishing in India – both in metro destinations and in regional situations – is looked at. Goa is also contrasted with publishing in India, particularly the changes seen at the wider subcontinental level between the 1970s and today. It is argued that while publishing has boomed in metropolitan India in recent decades, there are 'peripheral' areas like Goa, but a large number of others too, which are still in the literary 'rain shadow' region and where the possibility of finding a voice in print is still rather restricted and extremely limited.

The significance and rationale of the study as well as its theoretical framework is next outlined. The significance of the study is outlined in terms of the importance of books in any society, but more so one like Goa which has had an early, but not continuous, involvement with print. This study is seen as being necessary inasmuch as Goa's centuries-old connection with the printed word is inadequately understood, and also holds out lessons for other similarly placed pockets of the globe. Besides, it also touches on, and has relevance to, disparate

but relevant regions ranging from Serampore and Tranquebar — also known as Frederiksnagore, Serampur, Srirampur, Srirampore, Shreerampur, Shreerampore, Shrirampur, Shrirampore and Tharangambadi — to Brazil, Calcutta and Lisbon.

The research purpose; research questions; methodology; conceptual framework; a review of literature and the scope; limitations and delimitations of the study. Key terms, concepts and identities are listed finally.

In the following chapters, we will look at the history of the book in Goa, issues of politics and control of the written word, and the lack of organised publishing in Goa for much of the twentieth century (Chapter 2); how this affected the author during the period (Chapter 3); expatriate Goan writing (Chapter 4); other issues affecting the writer in Goa — language shifts, technology, problems with the market, forms of control, etc. (Chapter 5); and a set of conclusions which one could draw from this study (Chapter 6). The appendices create a timeline of the printed word in Goa; list the Marathi novels published in the region; learn from the experiences of a Goan writer based in Bombay or Mumbai; and take a comparative view of developments in Portugal, Goa, India *vis a vis* the printed book.

2

Power and the Periphery

The Geographies and Economics of Literary Production and Consumption in Goa

Publishing is a business. Writing may be art, but publishing, when all is said and done, comes down to dollars. — Nicholas Sparks, novelist and screenwriter.

This chapter takes a closer look at Goan writing in the twentieth century and the *hows, whys* and *whens* of its creation. It attempts to look behind the emerging published word to understand the processes that brought it about. In doing so, it focuses on the political and legal situation that made publishing either possible or difficult. Likewise, technology, publishing options, economic possibilities and market situations are considered, as a means to explain the then-existing situation. This chapter thus aims at contributing to a wider understanding of the forces that shaped Goan writing during the period under study, the twentieth century.

Even while there has been a growing interest in Goa studies over the past four or so decades, contributed to in part by the setting up of the Goa University in 1985, there has also been increasing comment emerging on various aspects of Goan writing. It may be noted that the Goa University was set up with the goal *inter alia* "to promote interest in the life, literatures, languages and cultures of the people of the [State of Goa]" and to provide "extension and research facilities in Latin studies" ("The Goa University Act" 4).

Recent years have seen an increasing number of papers related to literature in Goa emerge at the academic level, some of which have been reflected through online networks such as the Indo-Portuguese History Network (Indo-Portuguese History), or the Goa Research Net (GRN), among others. The Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library offers some online information about its collection of Goa-based bound newspapers and journals; ecclesiastical documents and history; rare and Goa history book section and also a list of locally published books from the Goa Government Official Gazette Series III between 1974 and 2015. Almost every prominent bookshop in the State now has a 'local books section' (Lokaso), though this does not extend to the franchises of major national chains and the airport outlet. Likewise, networks such as the Goa Book Club tends to have fairly active discussions in cyberspace on Googlegroups (GBC). Meetings are also held in real-life by groups like the GoaWriters (GoaWriters) or the Out-of-Context Book Club; the former meeting at venues such as the Fundação Oriente, private homes or a member's office and the latter at the Alliance Française de Panjim-Goa, a local bookshop or at other venues. 'Out-of-Context - The Book Club' has been in existence since December 2017, and, by mid-2019, had held a total of 37 book readings and discussion meetings (Archana Nagvenkar). Other literary groups such as Literati

(Literati) in Calangute and the International Centre Goa (ICG) at Dona Paula often also focus on the work of local writers. The latter also hosts the Goa Arts and Literary Festival (GALF), an annual event held in early December. Translations have been increasingly happening (G. Mendonça), with the works of particular authors like the widely read Maria Aurora Couto, Damodar Mauzo and Pundalik Naik, among others, getting translated into languages like Portuguese or English. Initiatives that also deserve attention include the Granth Abhiman, an attempt to create an online book store and offer real-world deliveries exclusively of Goa-related books, run by the Rajhauns Sankalpana publishing network, which is a new trend (Granth Abhiman). It may be noted that many of these developments mentioned here came about only in the twenty-first century, and were absent in the period under review. Local languages have been gaining official support after the Statehood of Goa in 1987, even while some conflicts that have come up between them as discussed below. Anthologies of Goan writing (Nazareth, Shetty, Jerry Pinto, Melo e Castro) have emerged and covered various languages. The works on Konkani writing (SarDessai), on the contribution of Romi Konkani (Gomes) and poetry (Kamat "Konkani poetry"; "Poets of Goa") are also helpful in giving insights into the literary creation process.

This section, however, seeks to fill a gap, and add to our understanding, by focussing on an earlier period of time, that is, the twentieth century, compared to the current day. It could be seen as having set the pace and possibilities for what has come up. Likewise, the realities of this period have also set in place the limitations which influence the sector today.

While doing so, an attempt is also made to link the process of literature creation with the social background and non-literary factors which determined its coming into being. Hence, the focus is on the important non-literary factors which shaped the literature of Goa as we know it.

Influences of history: Some developments in the world of the book in

Goa were influenced by historical events. The arrival of the Press had much to do with Lisbon's attempts, at the time, to build an alliance with Abyssinia. Salvadore points to the myth of 'Prester John', Luso-Ethiopian misunderstandings and the Jesuit role (1-7). The arrival of the press in Goa is widely believed to have been connected to this encounter. Likewise, Spain's dominance over Portugal, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both of which were rival sea powers since the fourteenth century, meant a marked difference in the approach to the world of the book in Goa itself. The period between 1580 and 1640, when the Spanish monarchs ruled Portugal, led to a marked decline of the Portuguese Empire. The subsequent loss of parts of Portugal's empire - Ormuz, Malacca, Ceylon, Cochin, Bassein and Chaul - had its impact too on the role that Goa and its book could play in the wider world. Till Portugal managed to get free of their Spanish rulers, the Dutch blockade had its impact on Goa as well. Dutch attacks on Portuguese vessels along the Goa-Macau-Japan route in 1603-1618 disrupted trade and led to the Portuguese using smaller ships like galliots and pinnaces instead of carracks and galleons ("The Galleon trade"). The attacks also resulted in the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius writing his influential work on international law, De Jure Praedae, or 'On the Law of Prize and Booty', defending the capture in 1603 of the Portuguese Santa Catarina in the Straits of Singapore while en route from Macau to Malacca and Goa (Murteira 95). Grotius' work is seen as a major foundation of international law; it has argued against territorial sovereignty of coastal waters across the world.

The British invasion of Goa during the Napoleanic Wars built the connection between the English language and the local populace, which would subsequently shape Goan writing, especially in the Goan diasporic world. At the helm of the Kingdom of Mysore, Tipu Sultan took a section of the expatriate Goan population, the Christians of Mangalore, into 'Captivity' (Alan Machado 284-378). This obviously played its role in shaping the world-view and literature of the Konkani community along that part of western coastal India.

Early start

While some facts about Goa's role in printing and the early global exchange of knowledge have been repeatedly mentioned in the literature, there are still quite a few grey areas left behind by which our understanding is limited. The year of the arrival of the first Gutenberg printing press in Asia, 1556, is rather commonly known to most. However, it might be added here that, given the Anglo-centric traditions of scholarship and discourse in the subcontinent, even facts like these have sometimes been contested in other spaces.

For instance, the Tranquebar Press, the literary imprint of Westland Books, has been part of the Landmark Group that runs "over 11 giant book stores" across urban India, besides being part of the Tata Group of Companies and then acquired by Amazon. Tranquebar Press has commented:

The first printing press in India was, strictly speaking, a kidnap victim....

As S Muthiah writes: "In 1556, a Portuguese ship put into Goa for victualling. Aboard were 14 Jesuits bound for Abyssinia (today's Ethiopia) and a printing press. One of them, João de Bustamente, a Spaniard, was a printer. He was accompanied by an assistant of Indian origin. The clergy in Goa felt their need for a printing press was greater than Abyssinia's and, so, requested the Governor-General to make the press available to them. The press was taken over and sent with Bustamente to the College of St. Paul, a seminary that still exists" [sic]. The 'new' technology spread, but the Portuguese guarded their presses jealously, and, by 1674, printing had almost died out in India. It wasn't until a Dutch missionary, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, came to Tarangambadi in 1706 to found the first formal Protestant mission in Asia that book printing in India started up again. In 1712-13, a printing press arrived, and the first publications from the Tranquebar press

rolled out. Ziegenbalg, who combined missionary zeal with shrewdness, insisted that they had to print in Tamil as well, and the first Tamil publication from the press came out towards the end of 1713, followed by a printing of the New Testament in 1715.

The reason why printing and publishing spread to the rest of India after 1715, but not in the time of the Portuguese, was simple: Ziegenbalg and his fellow missionaries believed that they needed to share the 'new' technologies in order to spread the good word. In the process, they ensured that the printed word would spread to other parts of India — Bombay, Bengal, Madras. The Indian publishing industry may have begun — some would say fittingly — with an act of near-piracy, but it was in Tranquebar, with the sharing of technology, that it set down roots. And that's why we chose Tranquebar as the name for our literary imprint.... (Tranquebar Press)

On the other hand, there are the traditional Lusophone-informed perspectives, which tend to highlight the positive side of the event. From a Portuguese-influenced point of view, the story is told with flourish and praise. António Maria da Cunha's view below is an example of an early twentieth-century description of the perceived early Portuguese grandeur, its fall onto tough times, and the role played by Goa in the realm of printing in the entire continent:

In the glorious era of navigation and conquest in which daring Lusitania and its adventurous genius took the name of Portugal to the ends of the world, it was the Old City of Goa which was chosen as the centre of its Eastern Empire, one of the largest colonial empires in the world; and it was in that city, which was the most beautiful and opulent, transformed by the vicissitudes of luck in the majestic necropolis or dead city of today, that the first typography was

established in the sixteenth century, when, in Europe, the art of printing was still in its infancy. (503, translated)

Muthuraj has argued that the primary sources for the early history of the Tranquebar mission mostly is dependent on "Danish, German and English sources, in that order of priority, because the mission was initiated by the King of Denmark, executed by German missionaries and financially supported by the English." He has noted that the "history of Christianity in India, however, is not equivalent to the history of mission boards and missionaries" which are needed for understanding the history, but "equal importance should be given to the Tamil sources which have been under-estimated by historians" (181).

Goa often sits uneasily in the world of pan-Indian scholarship, in part due to its history being atypical from that of much of the subcontinent. Apart from this, there are also blockages, that hamper a wider understanding. These are caused by differences in the colonial language, and a form of colonialism and the Luso style of power-sharing with local elites that was rather different from that of the British. Print historians working on South Asia tend to also find issues from Goa remote or difficult to access. This could lead to adverse comparisons or expectations. For instance, printing in Goa has been critiqued for not leading "to an indigenous take-up of printing in the hinterland and printing continued to be confined to the coastal areas, until the rise of the Madras and Calcutta presidencies under the East India Company in the latter half of the eighteenth century", and being used "chiefly by Christian missionaries for the purpose of proselytising" (Gupta 148). The Jesuits in Goa have been critiqued for having "made no attempt to socialize the book and [for having] printed on sufferance" as the press only accidentally turned up in Goa (148). Nonetheless, the role of Goa is also acknowledged by scholars. For instance:

We are thus left with the region. To a certain extent, it is possible to speak of the history of the printed book in South Asia in terms of specific places: Goa and the Malabar coast... in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, and the three presidency cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in the eighteenth and the nineteenth, along with the likes of Serampore, Dhaka, Lucknow, Benaras, Colombo, Lahore and so on. (Gupta 147)

Likewise, the limited number of books actually published by the first printing press in the continent has sometimes been questioned. Darnton argues:

The printed book in India was both very old and very new when the governor-general tried to bring it under his control by the Press and Registration of Books Act of 1867. Printing had existed on the subcontinent since 1556, when João de Bustamente set up a press in Goa. But it remained confined to tiny enclaves of missionaries scattered along the coasts, and the total number of publications, including pamphlets and news-sheets, came to less than two thousand titles by 1800. (136)

It could be argued, though, that numbers alone are not an indicator of the influence of a press. More so as even a tiny fulcrum such as Goa did manage to play a critical role for a while in the European-Asian exchange of information. In another context, Salvadore has argued while referring to the mid-sixteenth century: "Rome, and to a lesser degree, Lisbon, had become the foremost center of knowledge production" (13). Shades of this can be seen in Goa in connection with its equation with Lisbon.

One prominent example is the work of the Portuguese Jewish physician, herbalist and naturalist Garcia de Orta. In their paper on the "circulation of medical knowledge in the sixteenth century", Fontes da Costa and Nobre-Carvalho have pointed to the importance of early work on the medicinal possibilities of Indian plants by Garcia de Orta "in the construction and

circulation of medical and botanical knowledge in Asia" in the sixteenth century (1). They have studied "the combined importance of experience and testimony in Orta's assessment of the medical matter of India" (1). Fontes da Costa and Nobre-Carvalho have also noted to the importance of the interaction and exchange of medical systems between the West and the East in the Portuguese physician's understanding of medical practices and knowledge and how the medical and botanical information that Orta's early Goa-printed work in 1563 was reformulated by Carolus Clusius and distributed in a new form in Europe (2, 7). Based in in the lands then known as the 'Spanish Netherlands', Clusius, 1526-1609, got known for treatises on plants and was considered a pioneering botanist.

Yet, like the proverbial glass, the impact of the press on Goa can be seen as either half empty or half full. Mangamma has written: "Goa has thus been the birthplace of printing in India, but there has been no continuity in book-printing till towards the end of the eighteenth century and this is yet for scholars to investigate" (87). This appears in a rather brief, six-paragraph update titled 'Goa as Instrumental to Printing in India', published in the anthology on Goan writing by Peter Nazareth and Henry *(Goan Literature)*. Mangamma links printing in Goa to "early Christian literary activity in and around Goa" and "the Romish priests who first set foot on the west coast and at Goa". This essay has a couple of paragraphs linked to Francis Xavier, the sixteenth-century missionary and co-founder of the Jesuits. It mentions that a 1579-printed *Kircittiani Vanakkam* or *Doctrina Crista* translated into the *lingua malabare* by Henrique Henriques "is preserved perhaps at Harvard University" (87).

Kalapura has argued that the Jesuit Order, first founded in Goa in 1542, ran India's first movable-type printing press at the College of St. Paul since 1556 and

Nearly for the next 150 years, Jesuits were the only players in the field of transferring science and technology from Europe to India. Modern

printing in India developed further in the later period, with the intervention of two other active players: the Protestant missionaries who arrived in South India in early 18th century and the British colonial administrators who engaged in printing since the 19th century. (440)

After the first press of 1556 at Old Goa, a second and new one was started at Rachol in the College of St. Ignatius near Goa, which continued working till 1668. There is also evidence of a third press in the New College of St. Paul in 1642 or 1643 (443).

Rachol Seminary's press followed its predecessor, the press at St. Paul's College at Old Goa, the former colonial capital. As of 2019, the Rachol Seminary had a webpage paying tribute to its historical connection with the first modern printing press in Asia (I. da C. Souza). At Rachol, the first book to be printed and published was the *Krista Purana* in the Roman script in 1616, by Thomas Stephens, and the last one *Regras da Companhia* in 1674. During the span of 58 years, a total of 16 books were brought out. Among these *Doutrina Christa* in 1622, a work on Christian doctrine and a Konkani grammar in 1640, both by Thomas Stephens (I. da C. Souza).

Royson has placed the text in context:

Kristapurana (1616) can be read as the earliest retelling of the Christian Bible in a South Asian language. It has a total of 10,962 stanzas and is composed in the Puranic tradition. It was printed in the Roman script in the Marathi language and contains the story of the Bible from the creation until the crucifixion and ascension of Christ. The text is composed in two parts — 'Paillem Puranna' (first Purana; equivalent to the Old Testament) and 'Dussarem Puranna' (second Purana; equivalent to the New Testament). Its author, Father Thomas Stephens S.J. (1549—1619), was an Englishman who arrived in Goa in 1579 and worked there until his death. One of the ways to retrace the journey of this text is to follow its manuscripts located across various sites in Goa.

In an online essay titled "In search of the *Kristapurana*," she has noted that the

Kristapurana's journey began in the Rachol seminary, which was closely connected to Stephens's life and work in Goa. Its library still stands in its original form, but no printed copy of the seventeenth century *Kristapurana* is known to exist there currently. In the Pilar Monastery Museum, a handwritten manuscript found in a garbage heap and salvaged by Father José Cosme Costa, SFX, is displayed. It could have been copied by more than one scribe as the handwriting changes often. Another handwritten Kristapurana manuscript is found at the Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library in Panjim. The Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr (TSKK), at Alto Porvorim, possesses Stephen's *Arte da Lingoa Canarim*, considered the first grammar of Konkani language, and a printed copy of J.L. Saldanha's 1907 *Kristapurana* edition. The Goa University Library also houses an undated, handwritten manuscript of the text.

There are several "modern editions and translations" too, apart from the online versions like the digitised 1907 Saldanha edition originally published in Mangalore and digitised at Chowgule College, Margão, now available online.

Kalapura also writes:

If the location of the early printing presses in India were plotted on the map, it will be found that they all hug the coastline of the Peninsula: Goa, Cochin, Vaipincottai, near Cochin, and Ambalakad – a village 20 miles south of Trichur, along the West coast; Punnaikayal and Tranquebar – Tharangumbady, in Tamil, in Tamil Nadu coast; and Fort William, in Calcutta, and Serampore – Shreerampur – along the Hooghly, on the East Coast. Bombay contributed its major share only by the end of the eighteenth century. (442)

Late principal-educationist Newman Fernandes, in an essay titled 'Collectio Racholensis', has suggested a "tentative plan for the publication of manuscripts as well as re-editions of the printed works of Jesuit missionaries who worked in Salcete and studied meticulously the Konkani and Marathi languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries". He also made a case that the literature produced by Franciscan friars in Bardez, as well as that produced by others, and the "many Konkani records in the Halakannada script — such as the manuscripts preserved at the Partagali Math of Canacona - will also have to be published" (59). Fernandes has argued that barely two years after its 1576 inception, the college of Salcete, subsequently transferred to Rachol, had set up a Konkani school, where many students were trained in a manner which earned them praise. Jesuits of different countries learned both the Konkani and Marathi languages "thoroughly well" (60). These included the English Thomas Stephens or Tomás Estêvão, the French Étienne de la Croix, the Spaniard João de Pedroza, the Italian Ignacio Arcamone, the Africa-born António de Saldanha and the Portuguese Diogo Ribeiro, Miguel de Almeida, Simão Gomes and Dom Francisco Garcia, among others (60). Fernandes makes the point that the "rich literature" they produced in both languages, especially in Konkani, resulted in grammars, vocabularies and a vast output of religious literature. Many of these titles got printed at Rachol, some at what we today know as Old Goa, and quite a few remain in the manuscript form "in different libraries throughout the world, e.g. Goa, Italy, Portugal, Spain, France, England, etc." (60). Referring to this as the "golden period in the history fo Konkani literature", Fernandes lists documents and books, both unpublished and published, which he suggests could go into retrieving this linguistic heritage. He also suggests where some of these texts might be available.

In the 'sunset' years of Empire

In studies of Goan colonial history, the widely accepted view is that the Portuguese Empire quickly saw its sunset years after its initial boom in the early sixteenth century. This also appears to be borne out by the decline in the affluence and importance of Goa, the colonial capital of the Portuguese East. It is a reality that many of the achievements of the Portuguese in Asia, on the literary and printing front too, were attained in Goa mainly in the rather earlier period of their rule.

For instance, even while Goa was a Portuguese colony, the Portuguese themselves were in a 'personal union' with Spain and were ruled by Spanish kings. This was the situation between 1580 and 1640 or even till 1668. At another point of time, between 1636-1639, Goa got blockaded by a fleet of the Dutch VoC or the Dutch East India Company. Goa was later suspected to be the target as an entry point of a French invasion of India, leading the British to station their troops in this small region between 1799 to 1815, justifying it as a defensive measure. This may make it seem like Goa was a colony multiple times over, at the hands of diverse European powers, sometimes simultaneously, with this small region itself playing only a minor role in history; but the historian Ernestine Carreira has argued otherwise. She has written that "the history of Goa from the seventeenth century was that of a near neighbour of all the major political and military configurations of power in Asia" (xx). In Carreira's view, Goa became a "thriving cultural, religious and diplomatic hub in the eighteenth century, building close relations with the foremost continental empires of the day — Mughal, Maratha and Mysore" (Cover copy) even though this tiny but once-influential Asian-African capital of a European maritime empire had been on the brink of collapse a little while earlier, in the seventeenth century. Her argument reassesses the role of the Portuguese Empire, "with Goa at the political and spiritual heart" in the East, covering widely scattered points across

Africa and Asia (xx).

The Spanish throne's control over Portugal, even while the Portuguese ruled Goa, also drew attention to Goa from newer areas. Some work from this period has yet to be adequately noticed. Philip III, the king of Spain and Portugal, appointed D. Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, 1550-1624, as his ambassador to Persia between 1612 and 1617. Figueroa's diary, the Commentarios, was written under the title Totius legationis suae et Indicarum rerum Persidisque commentarii. It was translated into French in 1667 (Varela Gomes). The original manuscript is preserved in the National Library in Madrid. Figueroa's sojourn in Goa in 1617 remains practically unknown to scholars interested in Goa or in the history of Iberian expansion. Varela has averred that Figueroa's description of the city of Old Goa and of the island of Tiswadi, the territory surrounding the city, is one of the more comprehensive ever put to paper. He has argued that in depth and detail it surpasses all the canonical seventeenth-century descriptions of Old Goa known to scholars and the general public and that which has been long translated into English: those by the Dutch Linschotten, the French Pyrard de Laval, the Italian Pietro della Valle. In contrast, Figueiroa covers a wide range of subjects, from urban and architectural issues to ethnological and religious interpretations; from social struggles and contexts to botanical and zoological interests.

Varela Gomes commented in December 2009:

Figueroa's text is very good and almost unheard of: few people know it in Europe and no one in India. Translating this text into English in a critical edition, with notes and an illustrated introduction, is a unique occasion to update the knowledge of Old Goa — many legends and myths continue to circulate — and to establish that the city was not only a Portuguese, but a multi-national, city: Iberian, right away, and also Indian, Italian, French, Dutch.

But developments were arising at diverse levels. Other scholars passed through Goa and used it as their entry point into the wider South Asian reality. Among these pioneers were Henrich Roth, also called Henricus Rodius or Henrique Roa, 1620-1668. Roth

won himself a name in the West as the author of the first Sanskrit grammar ever written in a European language. He is also known to have done preparatory work for a Sanskrit-Latin dictionary based upon *Venīdatta's Pañcatattvaprakāśa* (dated A.D. 1644), and to have drawn up a preliminary system of reproducing Hindustani words in Roman characters. (Vogel 609)

Roth had been assigned to what was then called Ethiopian mission, to India. From Europe, he travelled overland on foot to Livorno, in 1650 by ship to Smyrna, the Greek city founded in antiquity, at a strategic point on the Aegean coast of Anatolia. He also went by caravan through Isfahan, today part of Iran, before arriving in Goa in 1652 (610). Once it was one of the largest cities in the world. Roth initially worked in Salcete, off what was then Goa, as a Portuguese interpreter. Vogel has written: "Roth at once began to learn Canarese [sic] and was soon allotted pastoral duties at Coculin [sic] in the peninsula of Salsette in southern Goa" (610). Then he moved to what today is Uttarakhand, and finally in Agra. Roth is known to have learnt Persian, Kannada, Hindustani and had a profound knowledge of classical Sanskrit grammar. In 1662, he returned to Europe overland via Kabul, was in Rome in 1664, and delivered public lectures on the Mughal Empire in Germany. He secured financial support from Emperor Leopold I, the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary, Croatia, and Bohemia, to have the first-ever Sanskrit grammar compiled by a European to appear in print. This project was however stopped. Roth travelled back to Agra, via Constantinople and Surat, dying in Surat even before he could embark on a Nepalese mission. Roth's grave-site is at the Padri Santos Chapel in Lashkarpur,

now in Varanasi district, Uttar Pradesh, a suburb of Agra (611). Heinrich Roth's Sanskrit grammar was composed in Latin and is preserved at the Central National Library Victor Emmanuel II at Rome or La Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, with the shelf-mark of MSS. Orientali 171, according to Vogel (609). It was completed by 1660 as *Grammatica Linguae Sanscretanae Brachmanum Indiae Orientalis*. His works include studies on the Hindustani and Devanagari alphabets, on Vedanta and on Vishnu. He also wrote some 35 letters, during his travel back to Europe, which survive at the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels.

Among the early imprints, one can find not only books printed in the first printing press of India that was installed in Goa, but also books printed in the printing press of Ambalacata, a missionary settlement or village, on the Malabar coast, and other early printing presses of India. As in the case of manuscripts, these printed works are at times the only extant copies in the world. In view of this, the manuscripts, as well as early imprints, have been microfilmed and digitised as well.

Portuguese missionaries, or foreign missionaries belonging to the Portuguese Patronage, are credited with having described different languages of Asia, such as Tamil and the languages of the Malabar; Marathi; Bengali; Konkani or Canarian; Hindustani; Malayalam; Malay from Malaysia; Japanese; Chinese; Vietnamese; Amharic which is one of the Ethiopian Semitic languages; Sinhalese in what was then Ceilão to the Portuguese or Taprobana the name used for Sri Lanka by the ancient Greeks; Persian; Sanskrit, etc. (Assunçaõ and Toyoshima 240-241).

When the press stayed shut

The nature of the European colonial impact on India would also result in many of the early printing facilities being set up in coastal parts of what is today India (Kalapura 442). Yet, there are also many gaps in the understanding of Goa's

literary background, even primary ones, and such issues are yet to be adequately understood.

Hélder Garmes has noted that

Between 1574 and 1615 there was a hiatus in Goan publications, indicating that either it had disappeared, or the printers had ceased to function in the period. From 1615 on, new works were printed in Goa, until, in 1754, an order from the King forbade the functioning of the press, not only privately, but also in convents, colleges or any other community. This ban continued until 1821, when the press re-emerged, in very different ways.

Ataíde Lobo and Noronha have argued that

The beginnings of the contemporary history of the press in Goa begins in 1821. [Prior to that] as Portugal was then being ruled by an absolute monarchy, which was worried about the winds of political change that spread over Europe and America, strict censorship had been imposed on the circulation of books and periodicals in Portugal and its colonies, creating significant difficulties to access banned books, which included a vast range of enlightenment and liberal literature. Reading could, in such conditions, become a dangerous activity, promoting circuits of clandestine circulation, which are yet to be studied in the case of Goa. (1)

João Nicolau de Fonseca also confirms this:

From a document bearing the date of 1754, it appears that the Home Government was averse to the establishment of printing-presses in the territory of Goa, either by the local government or by private individuals, and that accordingly, instructions were issued to the then viceroy, the Count of Alva, recommending the adoption of stringent measures in the matter. For nearly a century this narrow-minded policy was rigidly followed, regardless of the intellectual and moral advancement of the inhabitants of the settlement; and it was only in 1821, the same year in which the constitutional system of Government was introduced, that a government press was established for the first time. (Fonseca 58-59)

This is the background then which sets the context for the period under study. By the start of the twentieth century, Goa had its first book store. António Maria da Cunha founded in 1899 in Nova-Goa the Casa Luso-Francesa whose bookstore was inaugurated in 1900; this started a new trend in professionalisation and in distribution, according to Ataide Lobo ("O desassossego goês" 79). Casa Luso-Francesa, whose name could be literally translated to mean the Luso-French House, became what was the first local publishing house and bookshop set up in Goa. It was created with the support of Bertrand, a publishing firm and book store founded in Lisbon in the eighteenth century by a French migrant to that city (Lusa; Coutinho). Bertrand Bookstore, launched in 1732 and still running in the Lisbon locality of Chiado, now features in the Guinness Book of World Records for being the oldest book store in the world still in operation (Coutinho). In Goa, this publishing-bookshop enterprise was due to the initiative of two Goan intellectuals, Francisco Maria da Cunha and José Maria da Costa Álvares, who, like their Lisbon partner, simultaneously inaugurated the first Goan book-store and printing press (A.M. da Cunha). Later, several similar projects, the results of both Catholic or Hindu initiatives, came to be launched, reflecting a de-centred publishing dynamic, both in geographical and linguistic terms (Ataíde Lobo and Noronha 9).

Periods lost to history

Periods of Goa's print history are lost to time, disinterest, a lack of records as well as the difficulties in accessing a story narrated in multiple languages.

António Maria da Cunha recounts in Portuguese how Goa's first bookshop was set up, almost simultaneously with what today is the oldest running newspaper, the over a century-old *O Heraldo*. The newspaper changed ownership and management, till it came into the control of the Fernandes family (Oswald Fernandes). The family ran a printing press and stationery shop, which grew to prominence over the years, and the newspaper was bought over from Goans emigrating to Portugal after the political changes of 1961.

But to track the growth and contours of printing in Goa, one needs to go back in time. As noted above, there was an absence of the Press in Goa between 1683 and 1821, for almost a century and a half. The long silence on the printed front is also to be noted.

Some other interesting facts and figures emerge from this period, from the world of print, including newspapers. As the scholar-librarian Scholberg ("Journalism" 1) writes: "Goa is an area of the approximate size of an Indian district, and out of Goa came a torrent of well over 300 journals in the course of 140 years." Since 1821, most of the history of the printed word dealt with newspapers, periodicals or magazines. The large number of periodicals and newspapers can be also explained by the fact that many were short-lived, and consistency in publication was not a widely noticed quality. Scholberg ("Journalism" 1) writes that at least two publications came out with just one issue, and "many lasted a year or less". There were other forms of publications. For instance, pamphlets produced by Goan emigrants in Bombay were the subject of study for Rochelle Pinto's *Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa*.

Sometimes, the fate of the printed word, including of the periodical press, depends on factors other than literary, economic or even market-based ones. Describing the large number of periodicals published in colonial Goa, the librarian-scholar Henry Scholberg ("Journalism" 1) also comments: "Many of these periodicals are dying a slow death in the Central Library of Panjim, due to the humid climate of monsoonal India. Most are utterly lost and their existence

is known only because their titles appear on someone's list." This comment was made in the context of newspapers and periodicals, but could equally apply to books.

There are other trends worth noting amidst Goa's creative industry. Interestingly, while the first Konkani periodical, *Udentichem Sallok*, emerged from Poona; the first Goan film in 1950 (*Mogacho Anvado*; "First Konkani film..."), and the first Konkani recorded music (Noronha "A German, and the sounds of Goa.") born in 1908, were outgrowths of diasporic Goan communities; the first Goan novel came from within Goa itself (Gomes, *Konkani Literature*). Scholberg has argued that "the home base for many of the Konkani periodicals was not Goa, but Bombay" (8). Regardless of where these came out from, Goa has continued to make its impact in unusual or unexpected ways in the world of print. On the other hand, over a century and a half after the book was first printed, the Indian novelist Aravind Adiga would maintain that Francisco Luís Gomes' work could "claim to be one of the earliest Indian novels".

At times, one can, however, get the feeling that Goa, despite its early start, has been relegated to being a footnote in writing the print history of India, particularly western India. Yet, it still surfaces in the story. In a chapter on the "Vernacular culture in Western India", some Goa-connected or Goan links show up in the footnotes of regional print histories (Naregal 159–168). These mentions include that of "prabhu scribes" who had been employed by the Portuguese government (160); a description of the *shenvis*, a sub-*jati* of the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins who "occupied important positions in the courts of the Maratha *sardars*, especially Shinde and Holkar", besides having occupied "important positions as linguistic mediators, translators and agents, first with the Portuguese, and then later with the British during the latter's negotiations with the Marathas" (161); and the work of A.P. Priyolkar (sic) (162). In terms of overlooking this aspect of South Asian history, the bibliophile Nuno Gonsalves is quoted as having been surprised that "a recent voluminous book published by

the Indian Council for Cultural Research, New Delhi, makes no mention of books written by Portuguese writers but for one regarding [the] Vijaynagar Kingdom [a]lthough Portuguese books on India written in the past are abundant and although all Europeans have written on India, the earliest among them were written by the Portuguese." (Navelkar *Nuno Gonsalves Bibliography* xv).

To help with understanding the periodical press in Goa, Scholberg divides the 1821-1961 period into four ("Journalism" 2). These comprise of the periods from 1821-1859, between the start of the first government-run *Gazeta de Goa* till the advent of privately published periodicals; 1859-1895, that is, from the first private *O Ultramar* press in Margão; 1897-1932, starting from when publishing was suspended for a two-year period due to one of the Ranes' revolts till the coming to power of Salazar; and 1932-1961 between the initial period of Salazar's rule and the sudden end of Portuguese rule in Goa. It was during this period that the Salazar-led administration "required that anything to be published in Goa must first be submitted to the government for review".

Some of the periodical and newspaper presses in Goa were also being used to print books, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For instance, in Aleixo Costa's bibliographical work of Goan book authors, the publishers' names are often peppered with the names of periodical presses. Some of the names linked with books in the late nineteenth and twentieth century include Tipografia de *A Voz do Povo* in Calangute; Tip. de *O Anglo-Lusitano* and *Ave Maria* Press, both of Bombay; Tip. de *O Ultramar* and Tip. do *Notícias*, both of Margão; Tip. de *O Heraldo*, Tipografia do *Heraldo*, Tipografia do *Times of Goa*, Tip de *A Voz de S. Francisco Xavier*, Tip. do *Dáirio da Noite*, Tipografia da *India Portuguesa*, Tip de *A Cruz*, Tip. de *A Verdade*, all from Panjim, among others, and even of the bookshop Tip. de Casa Luso-Francesa. Incidentally, the government outlet also played a significant role. Pendse has cited Gracias saying that the National Printing Press in Goa had published 752 titles including several periodical titles by 1876 (75).

Post-1961 changes

One subsequent major break in Goa's publishing history comes about in the 1960s, particularly after 1961, the year which marked the demise of Portuguese colonial rule in the region. This saw the arrival of a speedy change in the fields of language, economics and the direction of the discourse that books published in Goa have taken. Within a short time after 1961, Portuguese ceased to be the dominant language of the region. Wherritt found in 1984 that in Goa, the largest and most important of three former Portuguese colonies in India, there had been "a significant alteration of the linguistic situation" a quarter of a century after Lisbon's rule ended (438). Dr Carmo D'Souza, a retired professor of law, has argued that, for Goa, the Portuguese language still is a "researcher's repository" (D'Souza). D'Souza has noted that, in pre-1961 Goa, Portuguese was the official language, the language of courts, daily newspapers, the medium of instruction, books, party politics, manifestos, appeals, political assemblies, novels, poems, recipes, home diaries and even invitations. We discuss this issue of language shift subsequently, in Chapter 5 'Prose, Politics, Power'. This is a trend which had strong implications on the local discourse, both in terms of its form and content, languages used, politics, dependencies, and access to ideas to society as a whole. Following this, there has also been a change in the commercial networks, book outlets, publishing patterns, and the local newspaper sector.

One press that would later become a fairly influential player, especially around the 1970s, was the Casa J.D. Fernandes, which printed a number of books for authors. In the 1960s, after the abrupt end of Portuguese rule in Goa, the Fernandes family running this press-stationery outlet went on to buy the prominent *O Heraldo* daily. It sustained the Portuguese daily till 1983, when it was turned into an English-language broadsheet daily. This newspaper continues to be a prominent player in the Goa market. It needs to be noted that

the *O Heraldo* and the *Heraldo* were two separate newspapers, though with confusingly similar names. The demise of the Portuguese press in Goa is a sometimes dramatic and politically-driven, sometimes slow-moving economics-influence story. Some aspects of these developments have been discussed (Noronha "The Loss of a Tongue").

In the market: printers, publishers and challenges

Publishers are notoriously slothful about numbers, unless they're attached to dollar signs — unlike journalists, quarterbacks, and felony criminal defendants who tend to be keenly aware of numbers at all times. —Hunter S. Thompson, journalist, author, founder of the gonzo journalism movement where first-person narratives make the reporter part of the story.

Raymond Williams has noted that books were not media for the majority of the people until the twentieth century (70). Given the limited levels of literacy in Goa, though this was not necessarily the case with Goan diaspora communities, the mass market for book consumption would have naturally come about here in an even more delayed manner here. In those times and till virtually the end of the twentieth century, the acute scarcity of Goan writing was obvious, whether in a bookshop, a book exhibition which stood in for the lack of sufficiently-stocked bookshops then, or even at most libraries. Google Scholar and Google Books were still to come, and over a decade away. Goa University was an exception, but it was still only outgrowing its role and vision as the Centre of Post-Graduate Instruction and Research, and was not easily accessible to many. Goa-related books were still housed alongside the 'Rare Books' section of the State Central Library. For the rare, and limited number of avid book collectors, there were only a few titles to come by. Quite a few had been published in Portuguese, but these too were not easy to access for a range of reasons. For instance, the phenomenal number of books available in the rare Goa-centric collections of Pandurang S.S. Pissurlenkar, Nuno Gonsalves and Dr

Carmo Azavedo (Shastry and Navelkar; Navelkar 1997), now housed in the Goa University library and accessible to serious readers, is one case in point.

The press — what was produced and by whom?

Presses, publishing houses and bookshops can be considered the production and processing centres of Goan thought. With regards to Goa, it was only in 1859 that a private family-owned printing press was created by a former native Member of Parliament who had represented Goa in the Portuguese parliament, Bernardo Francisco da Costa. The nineteenth-century private presses were often dedicated to printing periodicals, but some also took on the job of printing books.

O Ultramar went on to become the first privately-printed periodical in Goa, and Costa also established himself as a journalist credited with having an "extensive knowledge of political and economic issues" (Susana Costa 123). This can be viewed in a way as the creation of a local independent press, while it is also worth noting that ownership of the press assumed the background of certain affluence and dominance in the local society itself on the part of its owners. Since its beginnings, this press was linked to the foundation of a political newspaper, O Ultramar, (Hohlfeldt and Santos e Souza 4) whose name is Portuguese for 'The Overseas', that lasted until 1941. Soon after its formation, however, the press served wider publishing activity, both periodical and non-periodical. Two years later, in 1861, another press was created to serve a rival political newspaper, A Índia Portuguesa, following a similar publishing path and longevity. In the years to come, several projects of the same character made their appearance, though many did not last long. Vicente characterises late colonial Goa's print culture as one "dominated by the Catholic Goan elites, both in Goa and in Bombay" (334). Coelho has argued that the "distinction between the high and low varieties of Konkani which were a result of casteist formulations got further enhanced in the twentieth century with the entry of

Goan Hindu upper caste on the Konkani public sphere" (6). After the exit of the Portuguese, some of the new newspapers, such as *The Navhind Times* and *Gomantak*, were for some decades connected to influential mining industry business houses.

Barreto Xavier has suggested that caste has played its subterranean role in Goa, even among the Catholics. She says that Dom Matheus de Castro (c. 1594-1679), the first Indian bishop of the Catholic Church who was "also a producer of knowledge in many different ways" could also be regarded as a "Brahmin... fighting for... building a narrative of Brahminism in Goa" (19:28–21:52 "Book Launch"). He authored the *Mirror of Brahmins* in his campaigns around 1652 comprise "one of the first moments where an Indian is addressing a Western audience and presenting himself in his own terms — [as people] who have the right to speak."

Books and texts related to Goa have emerged due to unusual reasons too. Two books from past centuries list the properties around parts of Goa which lists properties whose current owners need to offer masses for the souls of previous property owners. One text is by João Baptista Amâncio Gracias and is called *Bens pensionados em Goa. Capelas de vários conventos.* Its title can be translated as 'Legacy Properties in Goa. Chapels of various convents' (Costa II 132). Another is *Legados Pios que oneram os bens situados nos concelhos das Ilhas, Bardez, Salcete e Mormugão do distrito de Goa...* or 'Pious Legacies that Encumber Properties Located in the Municipalities of the Islands, Bardez, Salcete and Mormugão of the district of Goa' (Costa II 324),

Among the printers active during this period were some major players like Tipografia Rangel, based in the Bastora village of the Bardez sub-district of what today is the North Goa district, just outside the town of Mapusa or Mapuça. By the end of the nineteenth century, Dr Vicente João Janin Rangel, or Janin Rangel, b. 1858, founded what would become "one of the most prolific and illustrious publishing houses of Portuguese India" (Scholberg "Journalism" 4). Janin had

lost his father at the age of six and was mentored by his uncle, a priest, Caetano Francisco Lobo. Together with his sister, Janin started, at 28, a fruit-vegetable-milk-meat packaging business initially and then opted for the printing press at the family home at Boa Vista, Bastora (A. Pereira).

A search through the bibliographies of Goa-printed works in the late nineteenth century and well into the twentieth would indicate that Tipografia Rangel was the printer of the bulk of such titles. Some of these were official, others were publications brought out by local institutions like the Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama, the BIVG, and the Catholic Church, among others. Tipografia Rangel was launched in 1886, and had its presses rolling till 1994, but actively till the 1980s. Medico-writer Dr Jaime Rangel, b. 1959, the great-grandson of the founder of the Janin Rangel has pointed out that this family business that worked for three generations. It was started by the 28-year-old Janin Rangel in 1886, who moved from Piedade, on Divar island, to Bastora, a Bardez village subsequently made synonymous with the Rangel printing-publishing venture there (A. Pereira). Music books, magazines and almanacs were printed out of this tiny village, after starting with modest prayer books in Konkani and Portuguese. Listing all the works published out of Bastora seems like an impossible task now. One can get a hint through online databases and sites. The 'Memórias de África e do Oriente' website, a venture started and run mainly by Portuguese researchers, has a listing of a number of books published in Goa itself (O Portal...). It also has the facility to search by publisher, which gives only an incomplete hint of many of the Tipografia Rangel titles here. A search online currently yields roughly a thousand titles published by the Rangels ("Pesquisa bibliográfica").

It has been noted that Tipografia Rangel was active between 1886 and 1994. Dr Jaime Rangel has said that the press is "not dead, not meant to be". Around 2011, for instance, though not functioning as a press any more, the organisation came out with a not-for-sale slender booklet, *Let a Million Blossoms Bloom*, and, in

future, said they hoped to see some publishing happen "not for business reasons, but to leave a legacy and something that others can build on" (Rangel). But, obviously, it cannot now operate on the scale and in the manner it once did.

The name Tipografia Rangel features in major libraries and research institutions across the world on account of books published and printed by it. It produced works mainly in Portuguese, but also in Konkani, English and French. Its founder Janin Rangel's self-authored or edited publications included the Almanaque de Bofete, an almanac of food; the Almanaque de Parede, an almanac for the wall; and the *Almanaque Lembrete*, literally, a Reminder Almanac. The almanaque was a popular form of disseminating information in colonial Goa. One almanac is incidentally still published in the second decade of the twenty-first century by the Costas of Margão, a family linked to the first private printing press in the region (K. Miranda). Rangel also authored the two-volume Regulamento das Comunidades Agricolas de Goa 'Regulation of the agricultural communities of Goa'. Published in 1904, it contained 80 pages plus tables. It focussed on the unique rural institutions believed to be at least a thousand years old (Shastry). Earlier called the *gaunkaria*, these institutions were preserved by Goa's Portuguese rulers, unlike in the rest of British India. In 1909, Tipografia Rangel used colour printing for Almanach Illustrado Parede e Bofete, with photographs and designs (A. Pereira). Janin Rangel also authored the pedagogical Primeiro and Segundo Tomo in Konkani and Portuguese, the Konkani-Portuguese A Gramatica da Lingua Concani or Grammar of the Konkani language, in 1933 (A. Pereira). The manual press grew to diesel-run and then electricity-based. In music, Janin Rangel started the Trovador Luso-Indiano, or the Luso-Indian Troubadour, and Harpa Celeste, or the Heavenly Harp. To teach solfeggio, for pitch and sight singing of Western music, he authored and published *Elementos de Musica*. The Rangel family brought out periodicals such as the fortnightly O Indispensavel by Janin Rangel, co-founded with Dr Pitogoras Lobo of Socorro, and O Independente, by Dr Jaime Valfredo Rangel, the son of

the press' founder. Under the latter its printed *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da* Gama, Boletim Eclesiastico de Goa and its predecessor A Voz de S Francisco Xavier besides the Arquivo Historico. Dr Jaime Valfredo Rangel also authored publications such as A Imprensa de Goa, Faria e Dalgado and Industrias Aldeanas, among others. Valfredo Rangel also authored the book Imprensa de Goa in 1956, commemorating four hundred years of the printing press in Goa. He simultaneously held the post of the Presidente de Camara Municipal de Bardes, the president of the municipal council of Bardez, for a decade. But his unexpected death in 1959 saw his son Dr José Rangel taking on the mantle (Rangel). The work of bringing out the *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* later Boletim Instituto Meneses Braganza — continued after the 1960s despite the uncertainty and turbulence once Portuguese rule was terminated in Goa. O Medico and O Clinico were journals for the medical and pharma communities in Goa, published from Bastora. After 1961, this continued to be a centre for publishing books in the Portuguese language in Goa. By the 1970s, Dr José Rangel was one of the few to print in the Portuguese language "more as a labour of love of a poet-writer than for business reasons" (News release). There are memories of "financial pressures, unpaid bills and uncollected works" during this period, amidst a time of linguistic change. As competition grew, and readers shifted over to English and Konkani, Tipografia Rangel set its sights on printing calendars for schools in Bastora, neighbouring Aldona and Mapusa (A. Pereira). The publications of this press tapered off after the 1960s, in part linked to the end of the use of Portuguese as a dominant language in Goa. Dr Jaime Rangel, of the current generation, has voiced an interest in reviving the activities of this once-vibrant press and publishing house ("The Portuguese Language and Literature in Goa....").

Other notable operations, though small in size, emerged out of Goa too later in the twentieth century. In the Goa of the 1980s, the Other India Bookstore at Mapusa, run by Norma and Dr Claude Alvares and team using an unusual

model for those times. The OIBS was

started in 1986 ... because if you visited any bookshop in the country, you couldn't get books from Africa. Or for that matter, books from Malaysia or from Singapore, or from the Philippines. Or even from France or Sweden or Finland or Germany. Likewise, Indian books could not be purchased in any of these countries either. (The OIB Story)

Wanting to go beyond the "American or UK presses", the OIBS opted for an alternate vision, and used what the bookshop called the 'exclusion principle' so as "to exclude from distribution and sale any title printed and published in either the USA or the UK, our traditional monopolists." Using a mail-order approach to sell its books across India, and even beyond, the book shop reported: "We've not only survived by thrived" (The OIB Story). The Other India Bookstore later also became the first bookshop in the State to have a shelf dedicated entirely to Goa books. OIBS saw it as their way of giving back to Goa, a State they were based in, but not necessarily widely known in, due to their primarily mail-order format of operations. Subsequently, other prominent bookshops have done a fair job of creating specialist shelves of Goa-related titles. Among these is Broadway in Panjim, the Margão-based Golden Heart Emporium and Literati in Calangute. OIBS had its own publishing wing, which was active in the 1980s and thereafter. Broadway Book Centre also launched its own publishing house in the twenty-first century. Other players in the Goa book market, like the Golden Heart Emporium, also co-published books, though in the twenty-first century.

Among other noteworthy initiatives, one could point to the role played by institutions outside Goa, like the Writer's Workshop, set up by P. Lal, to promote writing in English in post-colonial times. Prof Lal lectured in the English Department of the then-nascent Goa University in the 1980s and inspired then

young students such as this researcher. Writer's Workshop has some 2500 books to its credit ("Writers Workshop"). It has also published the early work of many prominent authors at the pan-Indian level. Among these were included Nissim Ezekiel, A.K. Ramanujan, Adil Jussawalla, Arun Kolatkar, Arvind Krishna Mehrotra, Jayanta Mahapatra, Keki Daruwalla, Kamala Das, Shashi Deshpande, Ruskin Bond and Vikram Seth. Some of the early Goan, Goan diaspora and Goa-connected writers' works, in English, became visible across India and beyond in significant part through the Writer's Workshop. These include Peter Nazareth, since 1971; Leslie de Noronha, since 1966 with his Stories, The Mango and the Tamarind Tree, 1970, and The Dew Drop Inn, 1994 (Bakshi); Asif Currimbhoy; Natasha D'Souza; R de L Furtado; M.C. Furtado; Angela Lobo-Cobb; Loy Ramesh Mandovi; C.A. Ribeiro; and in poetry Bob D'Costa for his A Brutal Sunset, 1982 and The Ten Commandments, 1985; Santan Rodrigues whose collection of verse I Exist, 1976, has been often cited; late Tithi Tavora; and even the inadequately-researched pioneer of Indo-Anglian literature the Luso-Indian Henry Vivian Derozio whose work was published in 1987, among others (Booklist).

Books about Goa authored in other Indian or global languages can also be hard to track and locate. Rajam Krishnan wrote *Puyalin maiyam* (1971), a 222-page Tamil novel about the freedom movement in Goa. Titles like these are hardly heard of, let alone known, in Goa. Scholberg *et al* have mentioned that a copy was available only at the Special Foreign Currency Program of the Library of Congress, formerly Public Law 480 (84). The same difficulty in tracing texts could be true for works in Hindi such as Ramesvara Asanta's *Gova ke krantikari* (Scholberg 242), a 1970-published 168-page Hindi novel about the freedom movement in Goa, or Sakharam Pandurang Barve's *Jalta Gomantaka* (Belgaum: Svastik Press, 1955), a drama in Marathi based on the Goan freedom struggle. Chandrakant Kakodkar's *Gomantaka jaga ho!* (Bombay: Maharashtra Grantha Bhandar, 1950) is another such not easily available novel about Portuguese Goa's

social conditions. Rajam Krishnan authored *Valaikkaram* in 1969, a 782-page historical novel about Goa in Tamil, as listed by Scholberg (*Bibliography* 246).

In the search for Goa-linked texts, sometimes surprising results emerge too. Some authors in the diaspora are also not known in their home state or have faced erasure in the public memory. For instance, encountering a Goan diaspora connection to the writings of Savarkar came up entirely by chance during a recent online discussion (Ataíde Lobo "Forgotten Bibliophiles"). This debate came up on May 28, 2019, quite coincidentally, when a post on the Goa Book Club noted that "[w]hat many may not know is that a son of Goa played an important role in saving the manuscript of his book on the 1857 Revolt." This lead to a detailed discussion about the 1885-born Dr Joaquim Xavier Otto de Siqueira Coutinho, who traced his roots to Badem in Salvador de Mundo, and was a professor at the Jesuit-run Georgetown University (Geni). This brought attention to some works apparently written by Savarkar and related to Goa, such as *Gomantak: a novel on Goa* by 'Veer' Savarkar (*Gomantak*) and *Gomantak* in verse.

The press — where it produced?

A number of small presses spread across Goa were privately owned, mostly in urban areas of Goa or beyond, such as Nova Goa/Pangim/Panaji, Margão, Mapuça/Mapusa, Bombaim/Bombay, but others came from non-urban centres. One major player in the printing and publishing trade in this era was based in Bastora, as mentioned above. One could also run across presses in Pilar which was home to the missionary Order of the SFX, Rachol where another prominent seminary was based, but also in the villages of Assagão, the sub-district headquarters and town of Sanguem, Calangute which was then a fishing village and now is bustling tourist centre, and Santa Cruz on the outskirts of Panjim.

Ataíde Lobo has pointed out that

the *Portuguese India Yearbook*, which began being published in 1929, presents a survey of existing printers, "whose profile confirms the close connection between the printing activity and journalism" ("O desassossego..." 79).

Ataíde Lobo adds that:

From 1912, for example, the Xri Atmarama of the Viscount of Pernem, earlier noted as a printing press, began to advertise in the Luz do Oriente magazine identifying itself as a bookstore. In the same year, Altino Coelho, who had studied in Bombay and built a commercial career in Beira, founded the Bookstore Editora Coelho, without its own press. In the 1920s, it took up the initiative of publishing and reprinting several historical works by Pissurlencar, Gabriel de Saldanha and F. Diniz d'Ayala. According to the Portuguese India *Yearbook*, referred to earlier, in the late 1920s there were the following bookstores in the Estado da India: Nova-Goa: Luso-French House, Academic Bookstore run by E. Carvalho and Fernandes, bookstore publisher Coelho de Altino [run by] Coelho, Pereira & Andrade; Margão: Constantius Cardoso, Damodar P. Neurencar, Voicunta Poi Raiturcar and Basilio Silva; Navelim: Francisco Grebe; Mapuça: Balcrisna Xete Colopo. Altino Coelho announces in the 1929 Yearbook that the bookstore has a library section for home reading. The creation of circulating libraries for book rental on the initiative of publishers and booksellers had a tradition in Europe dating back to the eighteenth century, having reached great popularity in the 19th century. In addition to the above booksellers, there were several newspaper agents. ("O desassossego..." 79-80)

Other presses active during this period are listed below. Dates mentioned in brackets suggest periods during which they were active (Costa, Vol I-IV).

These dates mentioned are only indicative and not reflective of the entire period in which these printing houses were active:

TABLE 1: LOCATIONS WHERE PRINTING PRESSES WERE ACTIVE IN THE		
TWENTIETH CENTURY – WITHIN GOA, BEYOND, AND OVERSEAS		
TOWNS WITHIN GOA		
NOVA GOA/	Casa Luso-Franceza-Editora (1910–1927), Tipografia do	
PANGIM/	Heraldo (1928), Tipografia Central (1946), Tipografia	
Panjim/	Sadananda (1940–43), Tipografia do <i>Times of Goa</i> (1886),	
Panaji	Tipografia Bragança & C ^{ia} (1934), Tip de <i>A Voz de S. Francisco</i>	
	Xavier, Tip. Colonial (1933, 1941), Tip. Mergulhão (1940), Tip.	
	do <i>Dáirio da Noite</i> , Tip. Shri Saraswati, Emp Bragança & C ^{ia}	
	(1902?). Tip Hytachintak (1899–1904), Tipografia Popular,	
	Tipografia da India Portuguesa (1875), Tip. de O Heraldo	
	(1946), Tip de <i>A Cruz</i> (1879), Tipografia Indo-Portuguesa,	
	Empresa Tip. Singbal, Tip. Artur Viegas (1912-1926), Tip. de A	
	Verdade (1885), Tip. Don Bosco (1948), Imprensa Nacional	
	(1884), Tip. Prafulla (1942), Tipografia Central (1933), Tip.	
	Popular (1956), Minerva Indiana (1909), Tip Rego (1947).	
	Tipografia Case de Arte (1941), Tipografia Rau & Irmãos (1914,	
	1918, 1919), Imprensa Gonçalves (1932), J.D. Fernandes, Tip.	
	Rau e Irmãos (1918). Panjim: Esmeralda Printing Press (1964);	
	Boa Sorte (1962); Imprensa Gonçalves (1947); F.D. Dantas 1973.	
	Gomantaka Sáhitya Mandala (1972). Minerva Indiana (1930s).	
	Katolk-Boroinnarancho Ekvott (1974). Imprensa Nacional	
	1901. Typ. Xri Manguesh, (1922). Typ. Colonial (1911).	

MARGÃO	Tip. de <i>O Ultramar</i> (1861), Tipografia Borcar (1946), Tipografia
	Notícias (1899), Tipografia Progresso (1933), Tipografia de
	Filha, Esposa e Mãe (1931-32), Tipografia Borcar (1947), Tip.
	do Albergue (1914), Tip. Hindu (1938), Tip. do <i>Notícias</i> (1899),
	Tipografia Central, Tipografia Kakodkar (1943), Tip. Gomanta
	(1943). Typ. das Ortigas (1894); Tip. Gomantak (1936). Barve
	Prakasana (1973). Empresa Tip. <i>Progresso</i> (1920)
Mapuça /	Tip. Laximi (1934), Tipografia Popular (1930).
MAPUSA	
VASCO DA	Ashok Printing Press. 1974.
GAMA:	

SMALLER CENTRES WITHIN GOA		
TISWADI /	SANTA CRUZ: Tip Couto & C ^a (1917).	
Ilhas	PILAR: Tip. Xaveriana (1946–1960).	
	GOA-VELHA: Bhagavati Prakashan (1967), published the works	
	of R.V. Pandit.	
BARDEZ	ASSAGÃO: Tip. Moderna.	
	CALANGUTE: Tipografia de <i>A Voz do Povo</i> (1906).	
SALCETE	RACHOL: Tipografia de Nossa Senhora (1939).	
	ORLIM: Typ. da <i>India Portugueza</i> (1904).	
Ponda	PRIOL: Jaga Prakasana. Published Ravindra Kelekar in 1971.	
SANGUEM,	Tipografia Sangamodaia.	
ETC	RIVAN (RIVONA): unnamed press publishing in 1962.	
	Bharatmitra Karyalaya 1972.	

CENTRES OUTSIDE GOA	
Bombaim /	Gomantaka Chápkháná. Published Varde Valaulikar in 1962.
Bombay /	Tip. de O Anglo-Lusitano (1888), Associated Advertisers Press
Mumbai	(1936), Central Printing Works (1947), Tip. Furtado (1911), The
	Karnatak Printing Press, Union Press (1936), Tip. Job Printing
	Press (1874), B.X. Furtado & Filhos (1935), Tipografia Vijava
	(Vijaya?), Albert Printing Works, Victoria Printing Press, Ave
	<i>Maria</i> Press (1949), Tip. de A.P. Cortez & C ^{ia} (1891), Gomantak
	P. Press (year of operation not clear), Manaktalas (1964), Typ.
	de Portuguez Britannico (1892), Sindhu Publications (1971),
	Tip. A.F. Fernandes (1911). Betal Prakashan (1960, published
	H.O. Mascarenhas). Maharashtra Grantha Bhandar (1945).
	Goa Hindu Association. Maharashtra State Board for Literature
	and Culture, 1972 (published Gawdi Survey of Marathi
	dialects). Bombay Visvavidyalaya (1963). Konkan Institute of
	Arts and Science, 1952, etc. Published Antsher Lobo.
	Mona-Lisa Publications 1974, published George Mark Moraes.
	Tip. A.F. Fernandes (1911). National Congress, Goa (1954)
New Delhi	Goa Freedom Publications (published Evagrio George, 1956;
	Carmo Azavedo, 1956)
MADRAS /	Lusitanian Press (1859), Tip. Gowantaka (name not clear).
Chennai	Higginbotham's. Published Thomás de Noronha's Tales of
	India, 1910.
Poona	Aryabhushan Press (1936), Ed. de Vaz & Bros. Ltd.

Shimla	Govt of India Press (1939) (Scholberg <i>Bibliography</i> 115).
MANGALORE	Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository (1882). Codialbail
	Press, 1897 etc.
Sawantwadi	Savantvari State Press, 1895.

The press — who controls?

Control over printing is an issue of concern that has been raised in academic circles. Globally, the control over publishing and printing has been seen in the context of corporate control, and the dominance of the Europe-US group of nations. A 2014 study of the largest book publishers in the world depicted the same scenario ("The World's 56 Largest..."). Of the 56 largest book publishers worldwide, the top 13 were all either US or North Europe, with the first Chinese entry at number 14 and another lower down. Japan had seven in the top 56, and Korea a total of two. Canada's topmost came in at rank 42, Russia at 45 and 49, with just two of its firms in the list. Three Brazilian companies had been included in the 2012 list; but due to a severe decline in the value of the Real, the currency of Brazil, only two could make it to the 2014 list at the bottom. India did not figure in the list.

In the case of Goa, the control could be seen in terms of forms of ownership, by way of the dominance of traditional elites, which then shifted over to capitalist ventures, or some smaller players, such as religious or caste groups, and separated by language or script divides.

Little attention has been paid to discussions about the forms of control of the press in Goa, though this aspect, and the shifting nature of power in the region, is apparent to scholars even from abroad. An announcement of an event, organised by the Brazilian-Argentinian academicians Hélder Garmes, Cielo G. Festino and Cibele Aldrovandi, outlined what they saw as the situation:

Since the sixteenth century, Goan society had a literate elite in Portuguese that produced both printed and handwritten works, concentrating its production in Old Goa. From the nineteenth century, print production grew significantly with the introduction of the periodical press, and Margão gained prominence at that time. [It was] supplanted in the twentieth century by the intellectual vitality of Nova

Goa, now Pan[jim] or Panaji, the present capital of that Indian state. If literary and intellectual production until the eighteenth century was concentrated around the activities of the kingdom and the ecclesiastical, from the nineteenth century, with the emergence of the private press, there was an expansion of this universe to the daily life of the literate elites, these being enlarged by the educational system and the increasing presence of other languages, such as Marathi, Concani and English. Conflicts and convergence arise from the earliest writings, making the literate world a stage of constant dispute for social legitimacy, political space and religious power, but also a place of aesthetic exercise, presenting works of the most varied literary genres. (Garmes "Thinking Goa")

In Goa, geographical locations can have their own caste connotations, as can surnames and village affinities (Lucio Rodrigues 119-124). In view of this, one gets a hint of such power-play linked to the ownership and location of the press in various parts of the region, across time.

Likewise, there has also been a shift in the epicentres of cultural production in Goa over recent decades. This reflects the shifting influences of different languages at use in the region, as also the changing power equations among the dominant local elites. For instance, in the past, it could have been villages like Loutolim and Divar (Alberto), in the Salcete and the Ilhas or Tiswadi sub-districts respectively, which were considered to be 'elite' in terms of cultural and other intellectual production. In more recent times, literary works are as much, and perhaps more, likely to emerge out of Priol or Loliem (Phaldesai), in the Ponda and Canacona sub-districts respectively.

Edith Noronha Melo Furtado underlines what she sees as the reflections of "elitism" on creativity in Goa. While commenting on a well-received work from the region published nationally, she has argued that on reading the work:

a major conjecture surfaces which is bound to discomfit both members of the Brahmin caste and the so-called 'patrician Chardos' [another 'upper' caste grouping within Catholic Goan society]. Though the author wishes to avoid writing as 'a daughter of the elite', a sense of unmitigated elitism (which is the hallmark and bane of Catholic Brahmins and becomes a taken-for-granted social status leading to idleness and vice) permeates the narrative. (253)

Some non-dominant sections of the local society have had only a very slender representation in Goan writing. These include the voices of subaltern classes and castes, poorer migrants and the like. Goa's aboriginal population is barely represented in the written word, with the occasional exception of writings 'about' these communities undertaken by others. A collection of verse by Raghunath Vishnu Pandit titled *Mhoje Utor Gavadyachem* (N. Kamat, Konkani Poetry 8), the occasional short story (Jayanti Naik) and the depiction of such characters in *The Sign of Wrath*, though fairly sympathetic portrayals, at best reflect the work of elites with empathy for the these long deprived sections. Only in the 2010s was it possible for youngsters from a new and educated generation of such aboriginal castes to actually write about their own experiences – through blogs (*Hanv Konn*), or biographical books (C.A. Fernandes). The last cited work, though, has not been written by a member of these communities but reflects the option of a writer who grew out of the student activist networks that arose in the 1970s and 1980s.

Priyanka Velip has pointed out how a number of books related to Goa describe her scheduled tribe, the Velips. Her comparison of nine books and one website has noted the very contrasting perceptions put forth in depicting the very same community. She has written:

To know more about my community – the Velip community in Goa – and how different writers have described my community, I read

different works, and I feel that some of them contradict my own experiences. I also feel that I am being 'othered' through these writings. (116, mss.)

Among the under-represented issues is that of gender too, with there being very little participation by women in both book production and other forms of the media. Till 1961, Carreira (554) argues, Propércia Correia Afonso de Figueiredo "was apparently the only female intellectual to have found her place and her voice in the publishing world." She credits her for being the founder of women's studies and feminist studies in Goa, and the only woman member of the Instituto Vasco da Gama Institute since it was created in 1871. Carreira also points to handicaps faced by women's writers like Propércia Correia Afonso de Figueiredo, in terms of their lack of historical training, the ability to read English in that generation, and the like. After a while, the Salazarist ideology told women that theirs was to be merely a supporting role. She comments:

Propércia's work is still worth reading as a testimony or romantic vision of Goa's Indian society, in the same vein as those written by British scholars one generation previously. She establishes an elitist social hierarchy, at the top of which she places the Indo-Portuguese woman (without mentioning ethnic origins or caste). The Indo-Portuguese woman is a bearer of cultures across the East/West divide, which apparently explains why she is superior to the woman from inland India, or to Europeans in India. Christian fervour, or rather religious passion, radiates from every word as does gender solidarity. One of the finest chapters of the volume, for instance, is an impassioned defence of the Hindu *Bailadeiras*, then being expelled from Goan lands.

The question of gender equity and sufficient participation of women in Goan publishing has largely gone unaddressed in understanding the print history of Goa. There are only very few women's names featuring in any

discussion on authors from Goa or publishing in the region. In some cases, the names of women do exist but are scattered around the texts, making it difficult to notice the same or thus simply invisibilising the same. One recent exception is the work by Filipa Lowndes Vicente. She makes this point when arguing that Aleixo Manuel da Costa three-volume bibliography on Goan literature published in 1997 lists women's names alphabetically and these lie scattered throughout the texts (322). Hence, "their presence [is] much reduced when compared to the rich written production of Goan men". Vicente herself lists some women writers from Goa during the Portuguese period. These include Ana de Ayala and Eugénia Froilano de Melo, who collaborated in the founding of *Revista da Índia* around 1913; Ermelinda Gomes who wrote in Bombay in a tri-language magazine; Teodolinda Álvares da Gama from the Gama family of Vernã; Emmeline da Cunha, the daughter of Gerson da Cunha and one of the first women doctors in India (324); the Bombay-based D. Júlia Rodrigues whose authorship got subsumed under the name of her husband while working alongside him; the Dutch-born Goan-by-marriage Elisabeth Johanna Lobato de Faria and the author of the book Noções preliminares da geografia para uso das meninas (Preliminary Notions of Geography for the Use of Girls) (Vicente 327), the 1926-born Georgina Mascarenhas, author of Rudimentary Notions of Natural Sciences for Primary School; Escolástica Adelina da Piedade Gracias whose thesis on leprosy was published in Lisbon in 1934; Maria Palmira Sabina Lopes, known for her contributions to Goan scholarly journals; Ezilda Ribeiro Sousa, the author of the travelogue Através do Mundo, or Throughout the World (Devi and Seabra quoted by Vicente 330) in 1938 and Indigenous Medicinal Plants available in Bombay, Goa and South India via the Uniform Printing Press in Bombay in 1947. Mozambique-born and Lisbon-educated Maria Amélia Rodrigues authored Adão e Eva: Romance Colonial, which describes itself as a colonial novel, and is based on her experience of 'African life'. There were also Cândida Vaz de Aires de Magalhães, who authored children's stories after 1919;

Beatriz da Conceição Ataíde Lobo, the author of Contos da Tiazinha, 1937; and fiction writer Maria Luisa de Sequeira Coutinho. Quite a few of these were involved with periodicals rather than books. But Goan women also authored books on food, such as Maria Luisa Garcez Mello's Recipes for Confectionery and Household Dishes Prepared by the Portuguese Community in the Bombay Presidency (1893); Carlota Mesquita Correia's Tratado completo de copa e cozinha: Livro de cozinha goesa (Margão: Tipografia Progresso, 1924); and Escolástica Xavier Gracias' Preparados práticos de cozinha (Margão: Tip. Nacional, 1924). The last was published under the pseudonym of Augusta E. Castro. Listed among women authors were Maria Virgina Pacheco of Margão; V.R. Ferrão; and others who contributed sections to wider books. The contribution of two schoolteachers – Propércia Correia Afonso de Figueiredo, born in 1882, and Maria Ermelinda dos Stuarts Gomes, born 1889 – has also been noted (335). Stuarts Gomes also authored Sumário da história geral da *Índia. Portugueses na Índia* in 1926, which Vicente describes as "a concise and popular History of India with a [focus] on the 'Portuguese in India'".

No women entrepreneurs are known to have been directly involved with the running of the publishing or printing houses in Goa too. This contrasts somewhat with the situation in other areas of the Portuguese-speaking world, including Brazil. For instance, Brazil had an early adaptation of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin's 1792 *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. It emerged from Pernambuco in North East Brazil and authored by Dionysia Goncalves Pinto under the pen-name of Nisia Floresta (Hallewell 118). Titled *Direitos das mulheres e injustiga dos homens*, or Women's rights and men's injustice, and published in 1832, it denounces prejudice against women in Brazilian society and demystifies the dominant idea of masculine superiority (Lima Duarte 1048). Brazil had its first women's magazine in 1832, *A Mulher do Simplício* or A *Fluminense Exaltada*, which was published till 1846, and then replaced by *A Marmota* (The Woodchuck), which itself survived from 1849 to 1864. Post-1961 has seen a vastly changed scene, when it comes to women authoring texts, in languages like Konkani, English and Marathi. Today, there are a significant number of women authors in the field, while in the twenty-first century a few, like Sapna Sardessai and Queenie Rodrigues, play significant roles in publishing too.

Diverse models, different ideologies

In the history of Goan printing, diverse models have worked in different ways. For instance, the earliest presses of the mid-sixteenth century were run by missionaries and used for the propagation of religious ideology, and, on the other hand, to collate useful information from across the wider regions of Asia and also build grammars for languages within Goa and far beyond. Later, suspicion over the impacts of the press led to it be strongly discouraged in Goa, and in the other colonies (José Nicolau de Fonseca cited by Scholberg "Journalism" 1). José Nicolau da Fonseca in his 1878 work has stated:

From a document bearing the date of 1754, it appears that the Home Government was averse to the establishment of printing presses in the territory of Goa, either by the local government or by private individuals, and accordingly, instructions were issued to then viceroy, the Count of Alva, recommending the adoption of stringent measures in the matter. For nearly a century this narrow-minded policy was rigidly followed, regardless of the intellectual and moral advancement of the settlement; and it was only in 1821, the same year in which the constitutional system of government was introduced, that a Government press was established for the first time. (57)

The twentieth century also had its own experiences in the implementation of media censorship. Carvalho and Monteiro Cardoso have noted the short parliamentary democracy at the start of the century "lasted long enough to bring about a certain measure of change in traditional economic and social structures" (53). Yet, in Portugal itself, by the 1930s, the "landed oligarchy, with support from the Church and the Army" could change things sufficiently to withdraw power held by the middle and lower classes (53). Dissident voices were denied expression in Portugal between 1926 and the early 1970s. Editorials seeking more freedom of expression, to create political parties, or speak out on social disparities or inadequate housing, couldn't be published. Reports on protest marches, strikes, student upheaval, clashes with the police were cut by the censor. Politicians like Portugal's future prime minister Mario Soares 'did not exist' for some time in the media. Photos, such as those showing Salazar making the Nazi salute, were censored. Censorship led to self-censorship by the journalist. Salazar changed the vocabulary of his politics after the War, and his regime changed from a 'paternalist dictatorship' to an 'organic democracy'. Under Salazar's successor, Marcello Caetano, censorship turned milder for a year around 1968.

In Goa, post-1961, the new regime also had its own preferences, and this was reflected in the changes within the media. Some issues relating to the periodical press are described by the journalists themselves working in the media in those times, thus offering some insights (Noronha *Behind the News*; "The Loss of a Tongue").

Without doubt, institutions like printing presses, publishing houses and bookshops play a crucial role in deciding what a society can or cannot publish, how far it can reach, and ultimately how sustainable this act of literary creation can prove to be. In the context of media studies, the politics and economics of production have been debated. Among the questions raised are:

[W]hat is produced, how is it produced, what do these products mean, who controls the means of production, what impact do media products have on society, how are various groups of people represented by and in the media, who buys and consumes media

products, and how do the consumers interpret media products? (Sardar and Loon, 20)

The link between press, power and publishing has also been commented on in a global context. Merrill Miller has argued that books too, while mostly not thought of as part of the media, entertain and educate us with about as much power as TV, films and the Internet; books also share "norms and values of our society", either in a questioning or supportive form. They affect our thinking like the media does. Mwiyeriwa has pointed out that "(w)herever books are produced there will always be a strong relationship between the publisher, the printer, the bookseller and the librarian" (31). Speaking of the context of Malawi in the late 1970s, he has noted that, globally, the invention of printing and the emergence of publishing came about at different periods of history, but in Malawi "the two came at the same time in the sense that the printer was his own publisher when he set up his press a hundred years ago" (31). He has raised the point of how colonial publishing distorted the language of that African country. There is also a relation between some of these elements, as between publishing and printing. Bowen has argued that, "Perhaps because their origins were in printing, university presses traditionally have been concerned about high standards of design and production" (601). Henderson emphasises the relevance and importance of 'the small book press' in an American context. He has argued that "[s]mall presses are alternatives to the commercial establishment, issuing works that larger publishers avoid for commercial or editorial reasons" (61). He goes on to argue that without the bloom of the US small literary presses in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s "very little imaginative writing would be published in this country".

Marker (269) has suggested that Muscovite Russia did not get its first known printing press until some time in the 1560s. That would be after Goa got its printing press. Studying the situation in the 'West Indies' in the 1970s, Cave gives a hint of how complete the colonial situation in the world of printing could

be, especially when different regions, forms of governance and colonial traditions were involved. So, among the kinds of presses were the government-controlled press, introduced at the wish of the local population and authorities (168). There were presses for which a privilege had been granted by the metropolitan power (168). Or presses established as entrepreneurial ventures (168). Presses also came about as a result of conquest or occupation (169), or as an escape from war (169). Some presses were established through "colonial pride" (170). Others were set up with official support to "counter prevailing attitudes" (170).

Likewise, there were presses set up for special political or religious reasons (170); both of which are familiar in Goa too. Cave contends that the West Indian colonies did not "maintain their importance as centres of printing that the early introduction of the art might have indicated or to produce material of lasting significance in the world of letters" (190). As he has pointed out, at the time of American independence, the West Indian islands were already "established and rich colonies, in several of which printing had long been exercised" (163). Only did Boston precede Kingston, Jamaica, in terms of publishing a regular weekly newspaper. Barbados preceded South Carolina; St. Kitts came ahead of North Carolina and New Jersey. Cave has suggested that work is needed for a "full assessment" of printing in his region, the West Indies; when this was undertaken "a full assessment of West Indian printing and its part in the formation of contemporary Caribbean society will be possible" (190). The parallels with the case of Goa cannot be missed.

At the pan-India level too, the history of legal control over the press is also interesting. Darnton has commented:

The original impetus for the [Press and Registration of Books] Act of 1867 came from London, where librarians in the British Museum and administrators in the India Office felt a need to keep track of the printed matter churned out by Indian presses, but in India, the act

belonged to a general attempt to restore order in a world still shaking from the aftershocks of the Sepoy Mutiny and peasant uprisings of I857-58. (136)

In the publication process, there are other forms of challenges, biases and exclusions too. For instance:

Bias in peer review is a real problem. There have been many studies showing that women and minorities are less likely to get published, funded, or promoted. This bias can be both conscious and unconscious. Within scientific publishing, this means that fewer women are asked to review papers. It also means papers by women are cited less. ("Single-Blind")

Publishers in Goa, the missing link

Not long back, that is till around the 1980s, Goa had few or no dedicated, commercial publishers. Someone wanting to get out a book would get the text ready, and approach a printer. As Sandra Ataíde Lobo, daughter of the late Jorge Ataíde Lobo — who authored the under-noticed *Liberation: A Novel* in the English language in 1971 — has pointed out that around the time when Portuguese rule was giving way to the Indian, the trend then was for a prospective author to simply take his manuscript over to the printers, and have the same thus 'published'. The other option was to approach publishers outside of Goa. The State also played some indirect role in getting works published, and still does in some way by sponsoring certain books.

It is interesting to understand more closely how the field of publishing operated then. Among the publishers were those who functioned on a kind of mixed, hybrid model. This involved acting as printers in some cases, publishers in others, or publishing work on being commissioned by institutions including governments. A few prominent ones dominated much of the twentieth centenary, navigating across various regimes and political processes. One has to keep in mind that this was a period of significant change in Goa. As noted, in the twentieth century, Goa went through a Republican, secular and anti-clerical phase in the early part of the decade; the Salazar-dominated years from the early 1930s till 1961; the growth of an anti-imperial, pro-nativist and pro-India trends in the middle of the century; the influence of political parties like the Congress and other mainstream Indian parties — together with a suspicion of all things Portuguese particularly in the 1960s and 1970s; a new form of Congress-led local-politician-based and at times politically unstable politics in the 1980s and 1990s; and the Congress-BJP influenced years after that. Looking back over this period in Goa, some trends appear to stand out. These could be described as follows:

- The field of Goan printing and publishing is complex and inadequately understood. Overseas scholars of Goan origin have suggested that while there are some lists of Goan printing presses and publishing houses maintained, what has been difficult to track is these publishing houses archives, like the Rangel printers-publishers, for correspondence that was exchanged with authors.
- Understanding the history of presses and publishers in Goa gives an insight into the process of the creation of the local literature, and explains why it shaped out in the manner it did.
- Challenges faced by the publishers have been a reality too. Even while the authors have had a tough task in getting published, publishers too faced severe difficulties in creating viable products. Some in the self-publishing market or those catering to specific interests, like guides for school and college students, find their bottom-line manageable. But many speak about the limitations of the market and economic non-viability of publishing local works for what is primarily a Goa-restricted readership.

- One exception has been the bustling market of tourist-related products. Since around the tourism boom witnessed by Goa in the 1980s, external publishers have tapped the market well, but not many local players have held out. In the former category are publications like *Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, Outlook* guides from New Delhi, and a host of other big and small publications. On the other hand, a small, individual and local publisher like Julio Riveiredo has opted out of the field; publishing such information was a difficult, if not an unsustainable, task here. Riveredo has said that recovering money was tough for publishers; the readers in Goa have been decreasing rather than growing; the vendors of books "make more money than publishers and writers". He has argued that Goa lacks channels for promoting books. Other states like Maharashtra has its library channels, or even the potential of selling books on trains, he has cited the case of low-priced, low-margin books in Kerala. "Here (in Goa) we have only the booksellers to depend on," Riveredo has said.
- In keeping with the colonial situation of the time, the control over book publishing in Goa was largely within the hands of a limited group of elite members of society, of the upper castes, predominantly using the colonial language, i.e. Portuguese, or the dominant language of the neighbouring state of Bombay, later Maharashtra.
- It would not be possible to conclude that the post-1961 situation was the polar opposite to the era described above, but it can be argued that within these two eras, the balance of power shifted to the hands of a different set of elites and incipient elites.
- For a set of complex reasons, Konkani has not been the most popular written language (Kalekar 292-294; Matsukawa 127), and is still not in this position even currently in the early twenty-first century. Behind this fact were the reasons such as (i) Konkani for long has been seen as a spoken

rather than written language (Botelho 384) (ii) Literate Goan have often chosen to use other languages as forms of elite discourse, either Portuguese, Marathi or more recently English (Caroline Menezes; Rocky Miranda "Caste, Religion") (iii) Konkani has itself been divided by dialect (Caroline Menezes), and is a small language with a limited number of speakers and written in as many as five different scripts, i.e. Roman, Devanagari, Kannada, Malayalam and Perso-Arabic, with its literature produced in the first three (Sardesai, A Brief Note.... 82) (iv) The standardisation of the language has been delayed. Consequently, the language sometimes turns mutually unintelligible to diverse groups of speakers, blocking its utility (v) Goan migration, for a significant length of time, in some cases for even three or more generations (Frenz). This has also aggravated language-loss among the speakers of Konkani. Professor Armando Menezes, for instance, made a case for the Konkani language, even while speaking in English. His presidential address was entitled 'Why Konkani?', and he acknowledged that "an address in English from the presidential chair of a Konkani conference will, I am painfully conscious, cause much amusement to unsympathetic outsiders, as a good deal of surprise, and perhaps shame, to the members of the conference itself" (81) (vi). There has been a shift taking place from Portuguese to English and Konkani since the 1960s. This can be seen as part of the decolonisation process. Spina has pointed to "the case of countries formed from the dissolution of colonial regimes, as well as political and social changes caused by the effects of the decolonization process" (597). (vii) Portuguese colonial policies towards Konkani have been a complex mix of both building the language for various motives, including religious, and also attempting to block the language by administrative fiat (viii) Besides, issues of religious divisions, lack of standardisation, differences in accents and vocabulary, varied influences of languages like Portuguese or Sanskrit and

even the impact of caste and landlord-tenant relations make this a complex issue (Matsukawa 123). There has been an uneasy complex relationship between the colonial state and the native language, as seen from the linguistic history of Goa. Yet, all the limitations faced by Konkani today cannot, however, be blamed on colonial rule alone. Steps such as the printing of mid-sixteenth century grammars and dictionaries in the language as well as the post-1850s push to promoting the Konkani by the colonial Orientalist administrator Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara and the politician-journalist-poet Tomás Ribeiro has also lead to some importance given to the language, during certain stages of the Portuguese rule in Goa. This had an impact on the discussion even in later decades.

- Post-1961, printing and publishing activity has got more diffused.
 Government support and political support also meant that the favoured languages shifted to Marathi (Matsukawa 125-126) and English (Matsukawa 138), and, post-1987, to Devanagari Konkani.
- Till the end of the Portuguese rule, the government also played a significant role in deciding which books would be published, and officialdom remained a prominent arbiter of the region's thinking process.
- Becoming part of India, after 1961, lead to significant transitory factors in the second half of the century. This resulted in the collapse of Portuguese language publishing in Goa, in part due to economic factors and partly due to political reasons (Noronha "The Loss of a Tongue").
- If the pre-1961 era was marked by government controls and dependence in book publishing, the post-1961 period also saw a less obvious dependence on government goodwill or support for the written text to emerge into print.
- Goa remains a small market which lacks sufficient printing and publishing infrastructure, perhaps less acutely felt than in the past. Its dependence on

infrastructure outside of Goa to express itself has declined somewhat over the past decade or two. At the same time, the limited size of the readership here places constraints on growth and also results in the few books published in bigger cities outside Goa getting disproportionately wider attention.

Other trends can also be noted within the Goa publishing market.

- Traditional and dominant players in the market, such as Tipografia Rangel, were affected adversely by the political changes in the post-1961 era. Some of the earlier players too got swept aside by the changing times, leading to an abrupt lack of continuity.
- Oswald Fernandes, the grandson of the founder of the euphoniously named stationery shop named Casa J.D. Fernandes in Panjim, mentioned that copies or records of books printed by them have not been maintained in the past. Today, part of the family associated with the J.D. Fernandes group runs the firm that publishes the English-language daily *Herald* which was formerly *O Heraldo*, the Marathi *Dainik Herald* and the cable-TV network HCN. Part of this was built up through the purchase of equipment, brand and premises that was in operation in the earlier times, in particular, the 1900-founded Portuguese tabloid *O Heraldo*, from the earlier owners who opted to emigrate out of Goa in the wake of the changed post-1961 political situation here, as noted earlier.



Photo 1: Name-board of the Tipografia Progresso, preserved in 121 Margão in 2014.

• Tracks left behind by prominent firms from the time are still visible amidst the printed word. Among the Goan publishers of that era who have left behind their imprints by way of the printed work are names like Imprensa Nacional, Casa Luso-Francesa, Tipografia Rangel, Livraria Singbal, Casa J.D. Fernandes, Tipografia Central at the Cidade de Goa, Jaag Prakashan, Gomantak Printers, Borkar Printers, Bandekar Offset in Curchorem, Tiopgrafia Progresso and Tipografia Nacional at Margão, among others. Tipografia Progresso, apart from publishing a newspaper, was also the printers and publishers of some books dealing with Goan food, Catholic prayers, non-fictional studies on Goa and the like. A printer-publisher which is no longer functional, the Tipografia Progresso printed the Almanac de Parede, a kind of calendar-based almanac. A visit to their family home at Margão reveals that the name-board of this former enterprise had been carefully maintained in 2013, still in Portuguese. Institutions catering to diaspora Goan writing included the Rotti Press in Karachi, the Goa Hindu Association in Bombay, Jack of All in Byculla.

Publishing realities in Konkani: The shifting influence of publishing ventures is sometimes reflected in language. Desai (156) has given an insight into the growth of Devanagari Konkani publishing in the Goa of the 1970s:

Publishing activity got a boost with the establishment of Jaag Prakashan at Priol in 1970. Others to follow were Apurbai Prakashan, Volvoi; Rajhauns Vitaran, Panaji; Shenai Prakashan, Veling; Kullagar Prakashan, Margão; and many others. Some of these came into being only after the recognition of Konkani by the Sahitya Akademi in 1975. Many more started in the 1980s with new writers in larger numbers appearing on the scene. Publication of special Diwali numbers of Konkani magazines started on the lines of those in Marathi. (170)

Desai has also noted that recognition of Konkani by the Sahitya Akademi helped to give Devanagari Konkani publishing activity "an impetus" (158). This, in addition to annual literary awards, given to books written only in the Devanagari script, "was a national honour and recognition, which boosted circulation of books and their publishing in a limited way." This, in turn, led to "many young Goan writers in Devanagari" to themselves launch "their own publishing activity". Later, approaches were made to the local government, requesting it to purchase copies of each book thus published, to be placed in the network of public and school libraries that the government ran. Even outside the then Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, and later the State of Goa, recognitions and awards led to the influence and clout of Devanagari Konkani in "official and academic circles".

Desai has added:

This, in turn, raised [the] demand for resource and study material in the script. In the decade following the recognition Konkani literary activities in Goa increased with the larger participation of youth who had studied Konkani and also others who considered it as a means of

cultural expression. Writing and publishing in Devanagari helped this mobilisation and participation. Demands for opportunities for Konkani on the television gained voice by 1980s which resulted in the establishment of [the] Programme Generating Facility in Panaji in mid-80s. Goa Konkani Akademi came into being (1985) with its focus on Devanagari as the official representation of Konkani. Its activities, mainly the scheme *Pailo Chonvor* (literally meaning, first flowering) of financial grants and subsidies to the first books of budding writers, projects such as *Sahitya Saptak* (Literary Week), workshops for young Konkani writers on different literary forms, etc., helped in broadening the base of Devanagari. The Akademi also supported the publication of 'transcreation' of the epic *Mahabharata* by Ravindra Kelekar soon after the language became the Official Language of Goa in 1987.... (157-158)

Prior to this, in the 1980s, the Rajhauns Vitaran, now Rajhauns Sankalpana, a local publishing house, grew out of the gap then existing in the field of publishing. Prabhakar Bhidye, its proprietor, has narrated his story of how he entered the field, initially by selling just a few copies of the Marathi children's magazine called Chandoba in Marathi or Chandamama in English (P. Bhide). Prabhakar Bhide has also said that he is neither "a writer, poet, dramatist or even a Konkani speaker.," and narrated how he would pick up magazines and sell Marmik and Chandoba ("Reply to Felicitation."). This tiny seed grew over time. Ramesh Jaiwantrao Kamat offered him table space in Panjim and then three shops in a new Panjim building he had set up. Arun Heblekar, a former professor at the Goa University, launched his first book Ring of Saturn. The former editor of the *Gomantak*, Datta Saraf, Bhide said, saw him as a future publisher. He paid tributes to the role of writers like the late Ramesh Veluskar who underlined the lack of books to teach Konkani through Konkani itself. This led to the book Let's Learn Konkani, by Suresh Jayant Borkar, now in its tenth edition. He recalled the contribution of others like Mukesh Thali, MPT chairman

Arvind Bhatikar, then Goa Board chairman Suresh Gundu Amonkar, S. V. Kurade, among others. At that time, Bhide said, he depended on offset printing in Belgaum. When officialdom made it difficulties for him to get funding for desk-top publishing from the Industrial Development Bank of India, he had to somehow procure aid by classifying his venture as one dealing with 'computerised and laser printing'. Likewise, he recalled having gone through a tough journey to set up and sustain a magazine for children in Konkani, with the help of Prashanti Talpankar. Bhide recalls the advice of a '*miner*', a mine owner in Goa, Avduth Modhu Timblo, who told him that if he wanted to make his work into a business, he should not be extending his palm out to anyone for assistance. Instead, he should become a grant-giver. Bhide argued: "A publisher can be independent in tiny Goa.... Youth don't need to run after jobs... I've just told you some stories from my life. Without these, you would not be able to understand the turning points of my life. Hence, I've unveiled these secrets. This *vyvasay* [trade] is my *dharma* [religion or duty]" ("Reply to Felicitation.").

His son Aditya Bhide recalls: "He, with his few friends, started a public library in his village Ribandar, and then from there he started distribution of various books which included *Chandoba*" (Aditya Bhide). Over time, this grew into a publishing venture which has published over a thousand titles, most of which are texts and school guides related to the educational sector.

The support of grants

Grants that became available for book publishing towards the end of the century seem to have positively contributed to stimulating the local publishing sector. By the 1990s, the Fundação Oriente, a Portugal-headquartered, Macau-funded organisation, which was launched in Goa in 1994 amidst some controversy, initiated a scheme for grants to help make it possible to publish books in Goa's small market (Figueira 20:10–22:51). Contrary to the public perception, this support from the Fundação Oriente was given to a wide range of

books, not just those related to Portuguese topics, or written in the Portuguese language itself. This initiative made it possible for more books to emerge in the Goa market. The example led others to realise that such an initiative could be useful in a small market.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Fundação Oriente offered its sponsorship for a few publications. According to Varela Gomes ("RE: For Dr PVG."), the then Delegate of the Fundação Oriente in India

when publishers approach us and we think it is worth it [we sponsor publications]. Normally, we subsidize the publications in exchange for a dozen or so copies, not more, and our logo or the equivalent thank-yous printed in the book. Sponsorship can go from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 70,000, in my experience, for one book.

Subsequently, the Government of Goa's Directorate of Arts & Culture had its own scheme to support "authors and publishers" (Sayed). This came about in the early twenty-first century, when the Goa Government's Department of Art and Culture ("Art and Culture") began offering part support and sponsorship to either local publishers and authors, or both. Besides this, some other departments and government-supported academies, such as the Department of Official Languages, the Goa Konkani Akademi, the Gomantak Marathi Akademi, and the Dalgado Konkani Akademi, also offered their support or part sponsorship for locally-created books.

The Goa Government's Directorate of Art and Culture would initiate a similar scheme, offering a grant to authors of up to Rs 25,000 per book. Later, in the 2010s, this was raised to a grant of up to Rs 50,000 for bulk book purchases, which was given to publishers, or authors who had published their own book. But there were restrictions on who could apply, based on residential and domicile criteria. There were also limitations on some kinds of books getting a grant, thus excluding compilations, collated writings and translations from applying for grants.

Though such funding is inadequate to totally fund the cost of a book, such schemes have helped to reduce the funding gap and to make the publishing of more books economically viable. But some publishers have argued that such schemes, with the restrictions involved, are not quite helpful. Benaulim-based publisher Pantaleão Fernandes, who has worked on a series of his own books in the second decade of the twenty-first century, often coffee-table and illustrated, says he has not availed of local support for publishing from the state government by way of bulk purchases under the Directorate of Arts & Culture. "According to me, the schemes should support books based on their quality, and not on their price alone. If my book has quality, why should I suffer for that?" he has argued (Fernandes, Telephonic interview). Some other publishers have argued that the grants don't work for them and hence they avoid applying for the same. Then, there is the politics of subsidies and who is entitled to the same.

Subsidies for book publishing have been made in various forms, across varied points of history. The role of officialdom in sanctioning or supporting the early presses in Goa is noticeable. Later, some printing houses flourished more than others, leading to the question whether of this was purely on the basis of merit or based on other factors too.

In the world of publishing, there are other dynamics which become apparent here. Small is not beautiful. At least this is the case with printing and books in Goa, where the impact and economic success of a book are often directly related to the number of copies printed. The high fixed costs involved in creating the product ensures that it is not possible to touch viability below a certain size of a print-run. Today, this figure might stand at a minimum of 500 to 1000 copies for offset printing in black-and-white. This figure is higher in the

case of colour printing. If the size of the market is not sufficient to attain this number, then book publishing turns unviable, as is obvious from the case of Goa.

The impact of radio

The impact of radio on Goa's literary culture is yet to be adequately deciphered. Even in colonial times, the local radio station, then known as Emissora de Goa (Sequeira), played an important role in reaching out to the outside world. It was considered an influential radio station, having listeners in India — then a 'foreign' country — other parts of South Asia, even East Africa and elsewhere in the globe. The radio kept alive some forms of literature; Konkani and other plays have been broadcast both in the pre-1961 and post-1961 era radio stations of Goa. The radio also sustained a weekly programme in Portuguese, the only programme of its kind, which continued till sometime well into the 1980s or a little later. In addition to this reality, a number of politically-active individuals, such as freedom-fighters involved with Goa's struggle against Portuguese rule, also found jobs in radio broadcasting, both before, during and after their campaign. Such freedom-fighters connected to the state-run All Indian Radio network included Telo Mascarenhas, Edila Gaitonde, Carmo Azavedo, Evagrio Jorge and Laxmanrao Sardesai (L. Mascarenhas "Press"). There were also Balakrishna Bhagwant Bakibab Borkar, Nagesh Karmali, Libia Lobo, among others. To this list one could also add the 'underground' station called 'Goenche Sodvonnecho Awaz', 'Voice of Freedom' or 'Voz de Liberdade' (A. Desai 175; Baruah). This underground radio station was run by Nicolau Menezes, Vaman Sardesai and Libia Lobo, later Libia Lobo Sardesai, from the jungles just outside Goa. Vaman Sardesai would later become India's ambassador to Angola. A clandestine radio station, it was run from November 1955 till the end of Portuguese rule. In a country where radio broadcasting has been tightly controlled, which a partial exception of in the

community radio segment since 2007 and the commercial FM spectrum since the 1990s, it would obviously not be possible to run a station from Indian territory without government approval, tacit or otherwise. Meanwhile, there were also cases on the opposite side of the fence. Faleiro has suggested that the Siolim-born Konkani *tiatrist* or stage-actor Kid Boxer, 1917-1991, was jailed for singing an "anti-India" song in 1958 in Bombay, and on being deported to Goa, got employed by the Portuguese the Goa radio station of those times ("Goan Music").

SarDessai has also credited the Indian national broadcaster with playing a role in promoting Konkani. He has argued:

It was during this period that All India Radio started broadcasting Konkani programs from Bombay and New Delhi stations, which brought together Konkani writers who were living hitherto in three different script-worlds and accelerated considerably the program of unification started by Konkani conferences. ("A Brief Note" 83)

Summary: This chapter focuses on some aspects of the *hows*, *whys* and *whens* of the creation of twentieth-century Goan writing. It focuses on (i) recent changes in the field of the printed word (ii) Goa's unusual history and its influences (iii) the early start of printing here, and how this is perceived in diverse quarters today (iv) differing perspectives on Goa's role after the heyday of the Portuguese Empire here (v) periods of colonial suspicion over the press, which caused the Press being shut in Goa too (vi) periods lost to our print history due to the passage of time, disinterest, and a lack of records (vii) post-1961 changes.

The role of printers and publishers in twentieth-century Goa is focussed on. Presses within different parts of the region are mentioned, with the intention of understanding where texts from Goa work their way into print. The issue of

who controls the press is reflected in terms of where it was based, the language deployed at different points, caste hierarchies, "elitism" as reflected in the written word, and the inadequately reflected sections in Goan writing. The role of the woman author in colonial Goa is looked at. Roles of diverse ideologies in shaping the written word is also discussed. The role of publishers in Goa across different points of time, and understanding the limited role of Konkani in the written and published word, are also issues of relevance. Publishing realities in Konkani, and the role of grants in supporting Goa's publishing in the late twentieth century, adds to this discussion. The impact of radio on writers and literary creation is also noted.

In the next chapter, we will focus on the role of the author, reading in the local society, and libraries.

3

Economics and Efficacy

The author's position, and reading, in a small society

Nothing stinks like a pile of unpublished writing. —Sylvia Plath, poet, novelist, short-story writer.

Goa's writers have had to struggle to get published, both inside and out of Goa, for much of the period since the printing press first came here. This might seem ironic, yet it was true in the past and is still true to quite some degree today. The only exceptions have been a select few, writers who could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and who managed to strike it lucky and get picked up by a major outstation publisher. Going to national publishers involved its difficulties. Only a few of such publishers would be interested in a work from what was, in their perception, a market as narrow as Goa. John Adler, the Professor of Neurosurgery at Stanford University, has made an interesting argument in which he co-relates the physical distance of the author to the publishing centre with regards to the work published in the *New England Journal of Medicine* in Boston (22:55–23:24). Adler makes the point that forty per cent of the articles published in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, one of the most prestigious peer-reviewed medical journals and oldest continuously published one in the world, came from a 150-mile radius of Boston, where the journal is headquartered. Those who are insiders have much greater access to publishing, he pointed out. Adler has called publishing an "insider's game". Likewise, it can be argued that the distance and access to centres and outlets of publishing and printing have also shaped the nature of the fictional or non-fictional literary output of authors from Goa.

In Chapter 4, a listing shows some locations where Goa books got published and the centres of publishing and printing within Goa itself. This gives a hint of who might have got a greater chance to get published, and under what difficulty.

Only a few, select voices

For much of the twentieth century, only a very few voices from Goa could make it to print, for a variety of reasons. This led to limited scope for Goa to express itself, understand its peculiar issues, and give a voice to diverse segments of the population. As Khalil Ahmed has noted that till the mid-1980s, there were perhaps just 15-20 easily available English language books on Goa in the local market (Ahmed, "The This and That" 0:1:47 to 0:1:55). Ahmed is the managing director of the Broadway Book Centre, whose organisation significantly changed the Goa book market at the end of the twentieth century initially through book sales at public halls, bargain prices, and other unorthodox

books promotion approaches. The lack of Goa books till recently was, in part, also due to the language shift that just happened shortly earlier, in the 1960s. This meant that many of the earlier-published books were in languages like Portuguese, out of print, or not commercially distributed. But the situation also reflected on the small size of the local market, economic and technical difficulties in getting books printed and published, and the lack of publishers in Goa for the most part. Due to this, only a few books were getting published. Or, books were self-published and therefore not easily available in the marketplace. Those who did make it as authors tended to often be local elites, members of the affluent sections, and as could be expected, the well educated. This would in turn shape the debate in particular ways, around certain points of views, with elite-control and limitations of free speech being obvious among these.

Migration, nearby cities

Migration to neighbouring cities, like Bombay, but elsewhere too, opened up new possibilities. Such trends have not only shaped the number of authors that could get their works published but also changed the balance in terms of gender, class or caste participation in the writing and publishing process.

Rochelle Pinto points to the changes brought on by out-migration:

By the beginning of the 1860s, Konkani publications produced by and directed at a readership quite distinct from the Goan elite emerged. These were not, however, produced as a response to [Cunha] Rivara's injunctions to revive Konkani, which usually earns him pride of place within histories of the Konkani language. The print market of Bombay allowed a class other than the Goan elite access to print. Of the large number of working-class migrants who had begun to shift out of Goa, substantial numbers began to secure white-collar jobs as they had a rudimentary education in parish schools in Goa. If the Goan elite had secured a foothold in the academic and professional circles in Bombay,

they were outnumbered by the massive migration of Goans largely from the Old Conquests of Goa. (225–256)

At one point in time, because of this reason, i.e. migration, and also the easy access to both technology and financial options, Bombay shaped into the main centre of production for Goa's literary products. Newspapers, bi-lingual publications, music, Konkani *tiatr* or stage productions, and religious texts that were directly related to Goa, were more likely to come from a city like Bombay than from Goa itself. The significant number of Goans in Bombay, many of them in youthful and productive age-groups, a topic discussed further in Chapter 4, also promoted this trend. Likewise, the same was the case for some cultural products like the Konkani religious monthly Dor Mhoineachi Rotti, which started in Karachi, before shifting to Bombay and then finally finding its base in Goa (K. Monteiro), or the Goan Voice newspaper from Kenya, and The Goan World. The last was an expat magazine published and distributed to network various diaspora communities across the globe in the 1930s. Till recently, it had been lying unnoticed in the dusty shelves of the historic Biblioteca Municipal Ataide or the Mapusa Municipal Library, in mid-2019. The Goan World also focussed its reportage and updates on other centres of Goan migration.

Other routes have been tried elsewhere. The Professor of English at Baroda College, Anthony Xavier Soares, M.A., LL.B., translated Monsignor Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado's magnum opus as *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages* in 1936 at the Oriental Institute in Baroda. Priced at Rs. 12-0-0, the 661-page book carries on its third page, a prominent acknowledgement: "Printed by P. Knight at the Baptist Mission Press, and Published on behalf of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda."

By the end of the twentieth century, the political changes in the region also meant a disruption of the traditional elite controls, especially among the Catholic community. This led to new and different players managing to enter

the literary market, often quite successfully but dependent either on market support and popularity or a lot of hard work to break into print. Examples of these could be the writer of the *Romans* or popular novels with roots in the village of Siolim, the widely known Reginald Fernandes.

Reginald Fernandes, 1914-1994, was a writer from the Goan village of Siolim, who moved to Bombay at the age of 18 and then began writing "to get over homesickness while performing for the Maharaj[a]'s band in Gujarat" ("Reginald Fernandes..."). He is credited with having written "over 160 novels" each with a print-run of 2000-3000 copies. Lindorf, his first novel, was serialised in the Konkani weekly Ave Maria. while the last, Perdida, was published by Joseph D'Souza of the Jack of All Stall, which is still a remembered landmark of the expat Konkani community in Byculla, Bombay or Mumbai. Like D'Pietro, discussed below, he too "took off as a compositor" and penned "thrilling narratives" despite being a "rather simple and unassuming person". His readers imagined his personality based on his portrayal of "the grandeur of mansions and their aristocratic owners" and "expected him to be a gregarious and impressive person". He is believed to have been impressed by the work of Alexandre Dumas and H.G. Wells. His books had their titles set in alphabetic sequence. Today, his books are largely untraceable even to refer to. One exception is the collection of Brazinho Soares Kalapurkar of Santa Cruz, on the outskirts of Panjim (Soares). Fernandes staged *tiatr*, the popular Konkani form of theatre, began playing for his village church choir when just ten years of age and was a musician in the palace of the Maharaja of Mysore. He was a court musician of the Maharaja of Palitana in Kathiawar, Gujarat. He played in the Hindi film industry, and with other prominent Goan and other bands such as Mickey Correia and Vincent Carmine and his Orchestra that was popular in Poona, Johnny Baptist and his Band and Alfred Rose's 'Rose Buds', and 'Billday Becks' in Karachi. His band was called 'Reggie and his Melodians'. After returning to Goa he joined the then Portuguese-run Emissora de Goa radio

station where he would compose at least one play a month and three Konkani songs. These songs were often rendered by the singer-announcer Allan Costa, as was the much-recalled farewell song 'Adeus Korchea Vellar'. For six years, he played the violin for Fr Freddy J da Costa's mando troupe, 'Saliganvchim Mannkam'. His golden trumpet is believed to have been autographed by the legendary Louis Armstrong ("Reginald Fernandes...").

This gets acknowledged at times. Paying tribute to him on his seventy-first death anniversary, the government-supported Dalgado Konknni Akademi rued that Reginald Fernandes, the "journalist, song composer and celebrated novelist" is not known "to today's generation" which was unaware of his "service to the Konkani language" (Team Cafe 2). Fernandes is acknowledged as having written and published over a hundred novels, and was known in his time as the *'Romansicho Patxai*', the Emperor of the Konkani Novel, or the 'Father of Konkani Novels'. While their *Romans* were best-sellers in their times, the lack of means to preserve, restore or even translate their work has remained lacunae in the field of Goan writing and publishing. Likewise, this field of popular writing has missed any academic study to date.

Another fitting example is the Anjuna-based writer Bonaventure D'Pietro, 1938–2019. Named Bonaventure Peter Fernandes, he remembered being given the sobriquet of 'The James Hadley Chase of Goa' by the Konkani singer and cultural leader Alfred Rose. He literally and metaphorically burnt the midnight oil to get his books into print while working as a young man in Bombay. He narrates how he managed to get permission at the press he worked, to typeset and produce his novels after the closing of its day-shift, and continuing at work thus till midnight ("The James Hadley Chase" 05:10–06:04).

D'Pietro was from Chinvar in Anjuna, and tells in his autobiography of how his life was a struggle. He narrates the situation of the Goan musician of those times (*Vattliechea Avazan* 13-14), his father's migration to Bombay (15-19), their family's entry into the landlord's home (40-42), and their early days in

Panjim (43-49), Taleigão (50-58), Saligão (117-127) and at Manora*vaddo* in Raia (128-133). His story is filled with encounters in humble as well as trying jobs, often accepted by him with gratitude and humility, and later on, with the recognition that he earned for his writing. Elsewhere, D'Pietro also tells the story of his rise and his struggle with the world of writing (D'Pietro "The James Hadley Chase …").

A few managed to break through the barriers in changing times. But there was a fairly low and obtrusive 'glass ceiling' that blocked the author in Goa, and its diaspora, for much of the period under study. Similar factors would also play out at other points of history. These were not related only to the lack of access to publishing, but also linked to technological limitations; political censorship for a significant part of the twentieth century, largely between the early 1930s to the start of the 1960s; market limitations; the limited size of the market; Goa being by this time on the periphery of the 'publishing world'; the challenges and difficulty of entering this world; and the distance between possible publishers and the potential market for the work published.

Popular-selling novels, or *Romans*, have largely gone unacknowledged or understudied. ManoharRai SarDessai, acknowledges Caridade Damaciano Fernandes as being called the 'Father of the *Romans*' and briefly mentions that he has written "scores" of *romans* "the most popular being *Ankvaricho Cheddo, Armida, Rio Rita, La Beatirce* and *Julus Patxai*". SarDessai also acknowledges that "Reginald Fernandes is perhaps the most prolific writer in Konkani in any script. he has written about two hundred *romanses*... Reginald Fernandes has a style of his own, picturesque and racy and has an uncanny power of inventing gripping incidents and strange characters. His popularity with his readers is, indeed, enviable." According to Dale Luís Menezes, who places Reginald Fernandes's output at more than a hundred books, "Although Fernandes, and the genre of Konkani writing to which he contributed [*romans*] immensely was and is very popular, the *romans*, as well as Fernandes, have not received the

critical scholarly and literary appreciation, that they so rightfully deserve."

Some other Goan writers managed to score in big numbers with their popular writing. Gurunath Naik is believed to have authored 1211 books in the rahasya katha or 'mystery fiction' category, with claims of an entry in the record books for this ("Rahasyakathacha Sehanshah"). Naik began his working life as a journalist with two post-1961 local Marathi papers in Goa, Gomantak and *Navprabha*. He has narrated how he got started writing in the early 1970s, was inspired in writing his early work by just the title of an English-language film called 'Kiss the Girls and Makes them Die' which, in his writing, became 'Mrutyukade nenare chumban' (05–54–07–06), and narrates how he would complete writing a book in a day or two (07–06–07–48). Originally from Goa, Naik shifted to Pune and then Latur, in Marathwada district of Maharashtra, for employment. He created characters like Golandaz and Captain Deep, and has complained about being kept out from the "annual three-day ritual called the Akhil Bharatiya Marathi Sahitya Sammelan, the All-India Marathi literary meet" which brings together authors, booksellers and readers (Y. Joshi). Naik continued to be barely mentioned in Goa. It needed enquiries with booksellers or the rare avid reader to get to hear some recognition of his name. Significantly, the interview available online was conducted by one of the smaller local channels, and few other online links are available too. Many of the old missionary writers in Konkani have also been forgotten, and it is more likely to find their work eulogised and appreciated among distant foreign audiences and scholars, rather than speakers of the language back home.

An author or publisher in Goa has faced, and still faces, some serious issues of size and cost too. These include the size of the print-run, the potential market and readership, the availability of good printing options whether in Goa or beyond, and the overall viability of a book project.

Undoubtedly, demand builds up its supply. Had there to be a larger and more active book publishing sector in Goa, there would have been a greater creative output. Pantaleão Fernandes, who entered the field in the twenty-first century and publishes coffee-table and other books, has pointed out that Goa is limited in its potential to absorb new books. He has sold editions with a print-run of 1500 copies (P. Fernandes "Interviewed"). There is uncertainty over second print-run for books published in Goa, he has said, as all who could buy the book in the local market, would have already done so off the first print itself. In his view, after a print-run of approx 1500 copies, a saturation point emerges in the Goa market. He has contended:

We could benefit if there was some circuit to take our books to select book fairs across the country. Some government agency could help to give nationwide visibility to our books. At the pan-India level, we get lost. Due to our sheer die-hard attitude we survive, otherwise would have never managed if we had only to focus on profits, rather than on our creative satisfaction. (P. Fernandes "Interviewed").

A lack of multiple languages skills has also stymied the growth of writing in Goa. Konkani has been called a very under-translated place (L. Fernandes 20:50–21:10). Xavier Cota, himself a translator who has done a lot of work in the Konkani-English field has argued that translations are essential if a smaller language is to reach a wider audience (Cota 14:16–14:28). The lack of publishers in the small state is one noticeable factor across the decades.

Inadequacy or difficulties to source paper, staff, technology, presses, binding, talent and editorial skills have been other constraints in the growth of the field. Goa too, like other parts of the globe, has seen technological shifts in recent times. No longer does a publisher require to own a printing press. The number of publishers in Goa, as listed by a recent directory, has touched over some 310 organisations or individuals (*Rajhauns* 212-234). But this number doesn't adequately reflect the reality, as many on the list may be publishers of a single title, part of an organisation which has only a minor and irregular

publishing programme, or publishers of periodicals and newspapers. Towards the end of the twentieth century and thereafter, the improving opportunities, including new economic possibilities brought on by desktop publishing, outsourcing of printing and outsourcing of design or editing work, has however made it possible to publish more books, both by publishers and individual authors. This has helped to promote creativity and self-expression in the region, it could be argued.

Breaking into the market

To break into the market, an author has had to try out various options to ensure that his or her work got published. Such approaches changed at different points of time and across different regions. These ranged from directly approaching a printer or even a newspaper that could print a book, to reaching out to the rather active but limited in number publishing houses that existed at the middle of the twentieth century. The Tipografia Rangel, founded in the village of Bastora on the outskirts of Mapuça in the late nineteenth century, and discussed in Chapter 2, is one prominent such example. While some outlets opened in Goa very early, around the end of the nineteenth century in the case of the Casa Luso-Francesa, most printing houses or bookshops took root in Goa only in the latter part of the twentieth century, especially after the end of Portuguese rule. By 1881, for instance, Goa has four booksellers and one lithographer according to the Census (Pendse 64).

Options outside of Goa were repeatedly explored. Works were got published by diaspora Goan communities within their new areas of residence; books were printed or published outside of Goa by authors based in Goa itself, which increasingly proved to be an option after Goa got integrated into the pan Indian market in 1961; and in limited cases, books commissioned by publishers outside Goa were worked on by authors in Goa or the diaspora.

By way of fiction, the amount of work produced in the twentieth century

in Goa was not large. This is especially true of novels, except for the *Romans*. Some short stories in Portuguese have been rediscovered, by researchers such as Paul Melo e Castro, in the past decade, through newspaper columns in Goa. Of the books, quite a significant amount of this was produced outside of Goa. One prominent exception was GIP's or Francisco João da Costa's Jacob e Dulce which came out as a book first in 1907 via the printing press of the then newly-set up Typ. da Casa Luso-Franceza. It was later reprinted by Tipografia Sadananda in 1974 in Panjim. Other novels like Fernão de Goa's Beatriz; ou, Os mysterious da *ultima revolta em Goa* (Lisbon: Typ. Popular 1885), a novel about a military revolt in the Goa of the 1870s, is often mentioned but difficult to track. Some prominent and possibly well-connected poets such as Joseph Furtado, 1872-??, who traced his roots to the Bardez village of Pilerne, was published by Chapman and Hall in London in 1927 as A Goan Fiddler and in 1927 as Desterrado. The polymath Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado himself was published at the Tip. Sequeira in Porto, Imprensa da Universidade in Coimbra, J. Leite in Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional in Lisboa, Typ. do Indu-Prakash in Bombaim, the Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa, and the Oriental Institute at Baroda. Other prolific writers who could get their work out in varied places across the globe included Francisco Luís Gomes, who got published in Lisboa, Nova Goa, Bombay, Paris and New York.

But questions have been raised about how the home society treats its authors. Augusto Pinto makes a case that to "honour and remember one of India's greatest poets, we must first keep his works in print". Pinto pieces together the life and achievements of a poet from Goa, whose work is mostly unknown to the current generation:

There is no statue anywhere to mark the life of Joseph Furtado. That is a pity, for his patrician looks and his long flowing beard would have made a fine figure in stone. The house where he spent his childhood, in the north Goan town of Pilerne, is today in ruins. Only a handful of

the oldest residents remember him, and hardly anyone knows that Furtado, who passed away in 1947 at the age of 75, was one of the finest Indian English poets of his time. Fortunately, many of his poems still survive — barely — in just one slim volume in the rare-books section of Goa's Central Library.... In 1890, he found work with the Great Indian Peninsular Railway in Jubbulpore - as it was then spelt in modern-day Madhya Pradesh. From there, he went on to become a draughtsman in the engineer's office, a fairly important position. It was during this period that he began to read the classics of world literature, and subsequently began writing. Furtado published his first collection of poems in 1910. By 1927, when A Goan Fiddler was published in England, he already had four volumes of poetry to his credit. A Goan Fiddler had a preface by Edmund Gosse, then the most influential critic in England, and the book received warm reviews. Furtado subsequently published The Desterrado (1929), Songs of Exile (1938) and Selected Poems (1939), as well as a historical novel entitled Golden Goa! (1938). For a man writing in a third language, Furtado had a remarkable ear for the sounds of English.... A master of rhyme, rhythm and meter, Furtado was capable of transcribing the sounds emanating from his Indian environment into verse. ("The Goan Fiddler.")

In the 1980s, Aleixo Costa, the former head of the Central Library, earlier called the Bibliotheca National Vasco da Gama, undertook a major task of listing all the works by varied 'Indo-Portuguese' authors. This work gives hints of who were the printers or publishers sought out by authors of those times, and under what situations they managed to operate.

Another trend was the rise of the scholar-author-self-publisher during this period. While in the past one needed to be fairly affluent to enter the world of journalism or publishing, in more recent times, the 'intellectual capital' garnered by the scholar-author could have substituted this trend. For instance,

Olivinho Gomes has around 40 books to his credit (Upclosed), and has been a writer, poet, translator and broadcaster. He started life as an officer with the Indian Revenue Service and moved to academia and the Goa University. Carmo D'Souza, meanwhile, has narrated his travails at authoring and getting published, sometimes self-published, and thus completing a total of 15 books. In the monsoons of 2018, D'Souza was battling Parkinson's but keen to keep researching and writing on the region (Carmo D'Souza YouTube in three parts).

One of the early English-language journalists from the Goa of the 1960s, Gurudas R. Singbal conceded that it was difficult to publish a book, even in the early 21st century Goa. When he mentioned plans to write his memoir, he was "instantly" offered help by a chartered accountant, and an industrialist (14).

Even self-publishing had its challenges, and this also holds for popular and widely-read authors. Caridade Damaciano Fernandes, who traces his roots to the village of Aldona and was active till the 1950s, is still remembered by a few earlier generation readers of the Konkani *Romans*, or quick-read thriller novels. Konkani writer Anthony Veronica Fernandes has recalled his father visiting the home of the late writer, circa 1955, and asking his widow for a particular *Romans* which Caridade had written, called *Eden*. Caridade's widow brought a sackful of printed material and asked Fernandes' father to search through it, he recalled (A.V. Fernandes Interview). Little work remains traceable from the pen of such writers, and among the younger generation, they may not even be recognised for their contribution.

Recently, at the start of this century too, Savia Viegas has explained how she couldn't find a publisher, despite sending her text out to many who "kept me hanging". In 2007, she just went ahead and published, taking on the role as writer, proof-reader and publisher. Her narration of the process is interesting:

When a thousand-odd books came to my home, I began to wonder what to do. I changed my outfit. Got myself a pair of cheap sunglasses and a beach outfit. I said I'll do what I have to do. So I had to polish my

act. To compete with the Lamani woman, the massage woman, and the woman selling a lot of wares [on South Goa's Salcete beach belt nearby]. I did an act which I'm very proud of. I went around on the beaches of Carmona, Betalbatim, Cansaulim, Seraulim, Benaulim and Mobor saying, 'Hello! Would you like to buy a book? It's a book written on the land you visit. But it doesn't contain the story that you see on the beach. Goa has been built up over 500 years. The beach culture is only a few years old. Would you like to buy it? I give good price. You will enjoy it. You will ask for more.... (S. Viegas 4:36–9:38)

Viegas has narrated meeting Russians, Germans, British and Irish.

It was quite an eye-opening experience. I would not exchange that experience for any publishing high of another kind. When at Mobor at fag end of 2007, some *Babushkas* said, 'No, no, no. No English. Only Russi.' It was quite an experience... On trains, buses, at conferences, and the beach, I sold a thousand copies. It wasn't easy but it wasn't difficult. It should be a lesson for everyone who wants to self-publish a book. You can be your own writer, your own publisher and your own seller too. As a sequel, I wrote to Penguin, and they are publishing my second book.

Nagesh Karmali, a Konkani writer, has underlined the role of proximity or networks. Both these factors can help create, and — in turn — get written into, the local literature formation process. Karmali has pointed to links that some tiny, local eateries could have with social and political movements. "In Konkani literature, one can find *so many* references to Cafe Prakash and Bhate [both small outlets, the first a restaurant, the other a news-stand and bookstall, located in the central business district of Panjim]," he has said (Karmali 05:45–05-50).

At times, the conflict between authors has been intense, public, and also has been documented. Pissurlencar (*Sindabur*) authored a 13-page booklet to reply to Ms M. Ermelinda dos Stuarts Gomes "who persistently accused him of plagiarizing from her article 'Chandrapur, Sindabur and Goa'", after having taken advantage of seeing it in the press which he had access to. Pissurlencar conceded to have seen the article "because it was referred to him for his opinion" but found it of no "acknowledged merit", and had been rejected; that there was no question of plagiarism as he had acknowledged all authorities he had used, while Ms. Gomes had only referred to a few without acknowledging the work (50-51). The debate continued with at least a couple more slim booklets authored by Pissurlencar (Shastry and Navelkar *Bibliography* Part I 20, 45).

Language and the author

Language divides mean that some languages or scripts are treated as politically disfavoured, while others are favoured. This has been the case along much of Goa's history, though the favoured and politically 'incorrect' or temporarily unacceptable languages have changed, and not remained the same, over time. Writing in the 'wrong' language even today could mean that awards could take time to come, or never do, recognition is slow and financial support is not available. For instance, the official website of the Government of Goa (Directorate of Art and Culture). covers the literature produced in Goa in Konkani and Marathi, but not in English, a prominent language of cultural discourse in twenty-first-century Goa. Likewise, there was a controversy, when the Kala Academy, with the late Vishnu Wagh as its chaieperson, proposed to bestow awards on books written in Romi-script Konkani as well (TNN "Wagh Defends"). Due to a series of complex decisions and political stands taken, only Konkani in the Devanagari script has been accepted as the 'official' language and is thus eligible for awards. Consequently, Konkani writers using the Romi, or Roman, and Kannada scripts have criticised the central Sahitya Akademi for giving prizes only to books written in the Devanagari script, arguing that this amounted to an award given to a script rather than to a language and raised

issues of discrimination at other levels (J. Coelho 8-13). Portuguese has been a *lingua non grata* for long years after 1961, till the language attempted to make a slow, partial and belated comeback among some limited sections in the 1990s. Describing his anthology of translated short stories from the Portuguese original, Melo e Castro called it a work which "represents the autopsy of a dead literature" (Vol I 8).

In other ways too, the plight of the author continues. The situation as it stands today is quite the same as in the past, with authors hard-pressed to get published, and facing all kinds of pressures when it comes to getting their work known, read and sold. Language ruptures, and the division even of a small language like Konkani into multiple scripts, has made this field tougher to operate in. There is also a lack of publishing options, though, on the surface, the twenty-first century might seem to have opened up many opportunities.

Another reality was the lack of reading material that a place like Goa faced for much of the twentieth century. It might seem like an irony of the market, but authors could not find the publishers or readers they were looking out for, not enough potential publishers or printers got into and stayed in the market because of its small and sometimes unviable size, and readers too could not find the books they wanted, in a classic example of a vicious circle which helped no side of the equation. Incidentally, during the 1960s and 1970s, when children's books were rather scarce in Goa, local young readers could depend on the occasional Soviet book exhibitions of that era. Elsewhere in the South Asian region too, these are still remembered (Fernando). Some old copies of these titles are still sold by online ventures, such as Rajan's SovietBooks.in (Rajan).

The 'market' outside Goa has also played a significant role in shaping the writing in Goa. For instance, the tourism market has created a genre of writing that has been widely noticed and read due to the numbers involved; so has writing by more-recent settlers in Goa (Rocha; Mesquita; Mendonca; Silveira; Natasha Maria Gomes). Resultantly, there has been the growth of a certain kind

of stereotype about Goa. Some books have been locally written to combat this stereotype too. For instance the books *Location Goa* by Cabral e Sa and *Goa and the Continent of Circe* by De Souza. See also Noronha ("In Fact...").

Beyond the market: non-profit initiatives

There have been efforts and attempts to build the literary culture through other not-for-profit, voluntary or funded initiatives. This has been the case with book promotions, literary events, and even book publishing activities in a tiny society.

Sahitya sammelans, the regional name for literary conferences, have been active for some time now. Way back in 1939, eight decades ago, the All India Konkani Parishad was founded at Kumta, in what is today Karnataka. It held a session in Goa in 1961. The AIKP's goals ("Akhil...") were to build "unity among Konkani speaking people", remove "indifference of Konkanis towards their mother tongue", promote standardisation and the use of Devanagari as the "natural, common script for Konkani" and to work to develop and spread Konkani literature and culture. Its sessions have been presided over by Konkani writers, and often inaugurated by prominent politicians usually of the ruling party. Among these were Rajya Sabha vice president Violet Alva; Maharashtra chief minister Vasantrao Naik; Kerala chief minister A.K. Antony; Goa chief minister Pratapsing Raoji Rane; Karnataka Governor A.N. Bannerji; Union minister Eduardo Faleiro; Goa chief minister Ravi Naik; Union Railway Minister O Rajagopal. There were also religious leaders, such as the ninth guru and head of the Chitrapur Saraswats Anandashram Swami, India's first Cardinal Valerian Cardinal Gracias, and Shrimat Dwarakanatha Teertha of the Gokarna Partagali Math.

More recently, since the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, and outside the period under review, the Goa Art and Lit Festival has been organised since 2009 (GALF). Writers' groups and literary *fests* have become a

trend in twenty-first-century India. In 2016, there were an estimated 70 literary festivals in India "not including literary meets at colleges and universities" (Vani). The number could be higher too. Another critical view suggests that the lit *fests* of today make "participants to feel part of an intellectual circuit", or are attended because they are generally free and at no charge (Bhat).

Konkani grew due to the initiatives of both groups and voluntary initiatives. Narayan B. Desai's unpublished PhD thesis describes the number of Konkani groups and lobbies that were active in the twentieth century, though he is critical of the role played by some of these in another context (81–144; 282–339). Such groups have taken on the role of both building up a Konkani identity and also lobbying to promote the language. The initiative of the setting up the Konkani literary magazine *Zaag*, by Ravindra Kelekar, continued later by his niece the late Madhavi Sardessai, and subsequently by her daughter, is also one indication of this trend. Konkani veteran writers also made it a point to encourage the growth of younger writers. Prakash W. Kamat, journalist, narrates his encounter with Kelekar:

[Jnanpith Award winner and author of around a hundred books] Ravindrabab [Kelekar] had a great knack to spot talent and influence young minds. Writers in Konkani like Dilip Borkar [and] late Poet Ramesh Veluskar, have on record mentioned how he used to encourage them when they met him at various poetry competitions, etc., in their younger days. I myself used to go to his Priol home many a time to sit and talk to him. He used to read my column in *Sunaparant* and make observations. His first question to new writers was, "What have you been reading recently?" Aware of this question, one had to be prepared. The idea behind the question was to ensure or impress upon young writers the value of quality reading. He used to suddenly pick up a book from his huge, well-kept library with thousands of books, and give references to some writings of celebrated

writers. Sometimes [he would go on to] explain how some big name in Marathi literature was actually not so great a writer. I remember him telling me not to write small anecdotes in my column about his books and writings and, if at all, to read his full literature and then write about it. He used to engage young writers. Many he used to make to write in his reputed Konkani journal *Jaag*. He himself or his late niece, Madhavi Sardesai, who edited the magazine after he retired as editor, would tell you to write in *Jaag*, which meant they were grooming you as a quality writer. (Prakash W. Kamat)

Prabhudesai credits *Jaag, Bimb, Vauraddeancho Ixtt* and *Gulab* with having "playing a major role in providing space for young Konkani writers even today." *Jaag* started as an annual in 1974 and turned monthly from December 1976, he notes, and it has published books, and has "over 20 Sahitya Academy Award winners to their credit". *Bimb*, run by Dilip Borkar, published both books and its magazine.

In some ways, the field has opened up. Roman-script Konkani writer Vincy Quadros, who writes in both the Devanagari script and Roman, has completed some 20 books since 2007 and seven translations (07:35–08:15). He has suggested that recent opportunities came to the writer in Goa to publish in Roman, or Romi, Konkani with State support. Quadros, however, has noted the shortage of writing for children, especially in Roman Konkani, and makes the point that encountering work in Marathi, Hindi and Devanagari Konkani influenced his literary growth.

Journals, of which there were a few such as those published by the Institute Menezes Braganza, formerly the Instituto Vasco da Gama, also played a role in creating space for the expression of local ideas, even if primarily in the Portuguese language. The vibrancy of such journals could also be interpreted as a sign of the lack of options for creating books at many points of Goa's history. The Instituto Vasco da Gama was founded in 1871 by the writer-journalist and

then Secretary-General of the government of Portuguese India Tomás António Ribeiro Ferreira, better known as Tomás Ribeiro, to promote science and Lusophone literature in Goa ("The Instituto Vasco Da Gama."). The IVG is credited with having "promoted the golden age of Indo-Portuguese literature, and journalistic interventions besides texts in historiography and poetry." The institution received a building from the Portuguese authorities for the setting-up of its headquarters and financial support for its monthly journal, the *Boletim do* Instituto Vasco da Gama. Its founding dates back approximately to the period around the tenure of the noted Portuguese Orientalist Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (1809-1879), who until 1870 was the Secretary-General of the Governor-General of Goa. Cunha Rivara, a prominent Portuguese administrator favouring the Konkani language, was himself of Genoese-Spanish rather than Portuguese origin, was one of the founders (Cunha Rivara and Silveira). The IVG would publish a scholarly journal, the Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama which was at one stage expected to be wholly financed by the members (IMB Vs. The State Of Goa). It was revived and restructured in 1924. In March 1925, it was attached to the Biblioteca Pública de Goa, the public library of Goa. In July 1963, on the twenty-fifth death anniversary of Luís de Menezes Bragança, its name was changed to Institute Menezes Braganza. Subsequently, there was a court dispute when it was taken over by the Goa government in the 1990s (IMB Vs. The State Of Goa). There have also been other smaller journals that have promoted the written word in Goa, including the Thomas Stephens Konkani Kendr journal and other publications of the 'small press'.

Pendse has analysed the nineteenth-century Indo-Portuguese literary journals, in particular *Harpa Do Mandovi: jornal de poesias, Recreio das damas* and *Goa Sociável* (101–171). He has noted that although readership was limited in the nineteenth-century, Goa had a total of 20 periodicals that can be classified as literary (103). Studying the content of non-governmental nineteenth-century Portuguese periodicals of Portuguese India and Bombay, Pendse has concluded

that the distribution of periodicals by the subject keywords shows that the majority of non-governmental periodicals were dedicated to news (34%), followed by literature (16%) and politics (10%) (97).

The written word has spread through other routes too. Some South Asian books reached the United States through circuitous routes such as the PL-480, or Public Law 480. Also known as the Food for Peace program, "money generated on interest on wheat sales-related loans to India" under PL-480 was used to acquire books from India till 1965 (Pendse 181-182). During part of this period, Goa was yet to be part of India administratively, and, in any case, the book publishing sector here was either in its infancy or largely conducted in the Portuguese language.

Authors, demand and print-runs

Authors who had written or published their works in the twentieth century, and over the past couple of decades, have had varied experiences with publishing at the time.

Some in the field, like the engineer-turned-author, short story writer and self-publisher, José Lourenço, have pointed to the varied options available earlier and now in the field for getting published locally or elsewhere ("On Creativity"). Lourenço has argued that a negative perspective could turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy. Leonard Fernandes, who has run publishing services since the first decade of the twenty-first century in Margão, and a bookshop since more recently, has argued that while Goa may be a small book market "doesn't mean that there is no [potential] market for books... I still feel that there is a market that hasn't been tapped yet... [people] cannot find a place to buy them" (L. Fernandes "Question of publishing") This researcher has, however, in the same discussion, pointed to the near-total absence of big players in the local market, the market contracting more recently after the expansion of bookshops in the 1990s, the lack of figures on the sector, how many books a standard

print-run in Goa has, whether as many books would be published if the local subsidy element was removed, and the poor tradition in organising book fairs.

While there may be an element of truth to this, the fact is that the size of readership in Goa also places restrictions on growth. In another context, Altbach has argued that India was "among the world's largest publishing nations" and was ranked eight if counted by the number of books published in the early 1970s, with English titles then already being more than those in Hindi, that language's closest competitor. More significantly, Altbach also noted that the print-run size of Indian book titles was extremely low, at 1000 or 2000 copies for a scholarly or general book in the English language or even lower in regional languages ("Publishing - an analysis" 83). In 1963, the international average print-run was 13,000 per book. Some niches in the publishing world did well in India too, though. Publishers of comics for children (Rai and Bhargav) have claimed circulation figures in hundreds of thousands, with 150,000 sold each month in Hindi and English (272). There are a total of 5000 comics titles of Diamond Comics for children in different languages such as Hindi, English, Bangla, Gujarati and Marathi (271). In recent times, the growth of print-on-demand options, as also the increasing input costs in the market, due to factors like the Goods and Services Tax, or GST, then charged at 18% on e-books and 12% on printing in the months before 2018, and the declining value of the rupee together with the fuel price hike has led some contemporary publishers to opt for even smaller print runs (Ahmed, "Interview"). On the other hand, large markets like Maharashtra have voiced optimism over how many books they can sell from each edition (Abhyankar 180).

There are other challenges for authors and self-publishers elsewhere too. Mangalore-based Dr Michael Lobo, b. 1953, scientist, author, publisher and genealogist, who has self-published three books on the Catholic community of Mangalore, has narrated his own experiences with the mainstream world of publishing and authoring. The Mangaloreans Konkani-speaking Catholics are

largely known to be of Goan origin. After being an admirer of Ramachandra Guha since his book *India After Gandhi*, Lobo says, when he met Guha at the Times Literary Festival in Bangalore in February 2018:

Unfortunately, my meeting with him was very brief, and though I offered him my book as a gift, he refused to accept it, perhaps because he felt that it would be too heavy to carry. Interestingly, had he accepted the book, I would have immediately purchased all his other books that were on display at the stalls, but now the very weight of my own bag precluded me from doing so.

Difficulties in selling books have plagued the Goan author for long. In 1936, Braz A. Fernandes wrote from 'Chez Nous', at St Cyril Road in Bandra, explaining to Pissurlencar about his difficulties in selling the latter's books in Bombay:

Your books which were kept at Taraporewalla & Sons, have been returned to me. They cannot sell them as nobody wants Portuguese books, and besides, they say Rs.3 is too much price. (24)

Even in the twenty-first century, authors in Goa were reporting difficulties to market their work. For instance, as one author commented in a private writers' discussion group: "It's a tough uphill struggle managing sales, marketing and distribution myself, as I'm sure you are familiar with too. I managed to sell 20 copies yesterday, but that was at a launch event. I can use whatever help I can get." Another author commented:

I've self-published three books of which two were fiction. To sell the first..., I actually went from bookshop to bookshop in Mumbai. Other than [two....] no one paid me or informed me of any sales. Although I had the invoices, I didn't even get the copies — about 10 in number back. The shops took 35% of the printed price as commission. I don't know how the books were displayed.... This book got fairly good reviews.... The second book... sold well amongst friends/relatives. More a 'let's cheer [the writer] on' sort of thing.... 'Sales' is not a skill I have. I will not self-publish again. (Jaywant).

Vincy Quadros says the reason why he delayed 17 years between his first and second books, was because a friend helped him doing the first, but he didn't have a clue on how to go about the publishing process for the other books (06:41–07:47).

There are counter-views, however, about the role and position of the author. Simone Murray has questioned the origins of the concept of the 'Author'. She has argued:

The culturally esteemed concept of the 'Author' is the product of the Anglophone world and emerged simultaneously with copyright and Romanticism from the early eighteenth century. Digital technologies present fundamental challenges to traditional conceptions and practices of authorship: digital texts are typically open to 'readerly' manipulation, and digital publishing has allowed more democratic forms of authorship such as self-publishing and crowd-funded publishing. Paradoxically, the digital domain has triggered further elevation of the celebrity author figure, with author-maintained social media accounts providing readers with daily, or even real-time, communion with favourite authors. Authorship thus stands at a fascinating point — at once sacralised more than ever yet, in theory at least, never more accessible to a mass public. (Authorship)

Reading in a small society

There had been a "significant trend among Catholic intellectuals, particularly from the third quarter of the nineteenth century", which saw the

potential of the "reading habit to shape conscious and informed citizens" (Ataíde Lobo and Noronha 10). This trend spread too.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Hindu community had been considerably alienated from this dynamic due to the religious character of public primary education, which created a resistance to the spread of Portuguese schools. There was also the non-written practical discrimination suffered in all fields of civil service and political careers. As a response, the Hindu community started mobilising, greatly influenced by the Renaissance movement taking place in British India.

As such, a growing associative movement promoted by the Hindu elites targeted the spread of education, both in Marathi and Portuguese, and further education abroad by the creation of grants given to the Brahmin youth, the foundation of newspapers and magazines either in Marathi or bilingual, the opening of libraries to serve the community's particular educational and cultural demands, the existence of cultural and political centres to promote a tradition of public debates and speech.

After the Republican Revolution of 1910, followed by the foundation of a secular State, new conditions came about to launch a new political agenda, which looked at the effective benefits of equal civil and political rights. Further, we see in the press, a growing approach and dialogue between the intellectual vanguards of the Catholic and Hindu elites, articulating sympathies, and in some cases positive integration, towards the Indian nationalist movement and the local demands for autonomy and affirmation of regional cultural rights. (Ataíde Lobo and Noronha 11-12)

Libraries, in an inadequately-noticed role

Together with publishers and printers of the time, the libraries of the twentieth century have also played an important role in disseminating the printed word. Goa had no public libraries till the third decade of the nineteenth century, i.e. 1832. A while earlier though, after the College of Rachol was later converted into the Seminary of Rachol, the college library was merged into the seminary library (Pia Rodrigues 18). It was not a public library is the sense now understood, though.

Libraries have played an important, if mostly unacknowledged, role in narrowing information disparities within Goa. Pia Rodrigues, the former acting Curator of the Central Library in Goa, has cited the writer and former editor B. D. Satoskar over how several libraries were set up through private initiatives (20-24). Such libraries included the Saraswat Vidyapith Pustakalaya of Marcel, run from 1889-1912 and founded by Shantakant Maheswar Bhat Sukthankar in Marcel with a good collection of Marathi and Sanskrit books; the Goa Hindu Pustakalaya, set up at 1898 or 1899 at the old Dempo House, Panjim, run till 1904, later revived for awhile and run till 1908; a number of libraries started between 1901-1910 and attached to religious institutions in diverse parts of Goa such as Shiroda, Vade, Talaulim, Pangim, Ponda, Queula, Nerul, Mapuça, Chicalim, Pernem, Carambolim, Sanquelim, Bicholim, Cumbarjua and Sanvordem; the Shanta Durga Vachanalaya of Sanvordem set up in 1902 run on what could be a precursor to the model of 'crowd-sourced' donations of a fistful of rice; the Nerul library by Vithal Ramachandra Krishna Kamat Chandagadkar; and Shri Mahalaxmi Hindu Vachan Mandir of Panjim, set up in 1907 by the barbers' community of Panjim to promote the educational development, specially of the Hindu backward classes, through reading material and which has been credited to Bablo Mashno Naik, Nanu Tarkar Pednekar and Krishna Shagun Fatorpekar. The last institution is still active and received a state grant

on its completion of a century. Different communities and caste groups also opened their libraries, many of which were opened to the public regardless of caste affiliation. These included the Saraswat Vidyalaya Granthalaya, Mapusa; Saraswat Brahman Samajache Granthalaya, Margão; Brahmanache Daivadnya Brahman Samaj; Madgãonche Akhil Daivadnya Brahman Samaj; Vaisha Samajachem Shri Durga Vachan Mandir; Kaolechem Gomantak Maratha Samajachem Shri Panduronga Prassadik Vachanalaya, Panjim, among others. Others included the Saraswat Vidyalaya Granthalaya, Mapusa, set up in 1907 or 1911; Shri Durga Vachan Mandir of Mapusa which was run from 1908 to 1954. In 1954, it was shut following action by the Portuguese government for the possession of a book on the Indian nationalist Subhas Chandra Bose. It restarted in 1962, functioning in one of the halls attached to the Dnyanprassarak High School. There was also the Paroda Marathi Sangrahalaya, inspired by the Mumbai Granth Sangralaya and set up in 1908; the Gomant Vidya Niketan Library of Margão set up by the Saraswat Brahman Samaj and approved in 1918; the Shri Rovolnata Vachanalaya of Pernem; and the Saraswati Mandir Library of Panjim set up in 1913 with the books of the Hindu Vachanalaya and a capital of Rs 400. The Keni family and other well-wishers contributed to it. It is still functioning from the heart of Panjim (Pia Rodrigues 23).

Desai says the Goans were influenced by developments in Poona and Bombay, and networks such as the Sarvajanik Sabha in Poona. After a Sarvajanik Sabha set up in Mangeshi in 1888, public libraries and reading rooms were set up to "provide Marathi books and periodicals to locals". These included the Saraswat Vidyapeeth in Marcela in 1889, the Goa Hindu Pustakalaya in 1900 in Panjim, and the Ramanath Damodar Vachan Mandir in Margão, also in 1900 (41).

Libraries far away from Goa are also relevant to the history of the book in Goa. In the 1970s and 1980s, when Scholberg, Kakodkar and Dr Azavedo were

scouring libraries for Goa-related books, they pointed to a range of institutions where such titles were housed (xvii-xix). These included libraries some 54 libraries in the US; others in Portugal such as the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal of Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda at Lisbon, University of Coimbra Library, the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa; in the UK institutions like the British Museum or British Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies Library at the University of London, the India Office Library; in Paris including the Bibliothèque Nationale; in Bombay libraries such as the Asiatic Society Library, the University of Bombay Library, St Xavier's College and St Xavier's High School; in Poona including the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala and the University of Poona Library; in Madras at libraries such as the Connemara Public Library; and libraries at other locations such as the University of Karnatak Library; the National Library at Calcutta; and in Goa itself libraries such as the then Centre for Historical Studies of the University of Bombay at Panjim, the Central Library, the Goa Archives, Saraswati Mandal Library of Panjim, the Mapuca Municipal Library, the Centre for Post-Graduate Instruction and Research in times when the Goa University was yet to be set up; the Rocky Miranda private library; the Carmo Azavedo private library; the George Mark Moraes private library; and the B.D. Satoskar private library.

Currently, too, there is an urgency felt to protect the legacy of the past. Ananya Chakravarti has argued that

Portuguese rule in Goa bequeathed a vibrant Catholic community and a rich legacy of Christian texts in Indian vernacular languages. These texts remain scattered: in State or Church archives or in private family collections, or worse, they are forgotten or lost in catalogued collections, remaining invisible to scholars and those interested in the history of Christianity in India. This accounts in part for the relative scholarly neglect of this religious tradition in India. In addition, this heritage of texts, dating back to the late sixteenth century, is in grave

danger of being lost altogether due to uncertain archival conditions and poor preservation.

In 2013, Chakravarti came up with a project "to identify and locate Christian manuscripts in the Konkan region of Marathi and Konkani in state, church, private institutional and family collections, and secondly to start digitising some Indian Christian texts." She says it was in Salcete that the Jesuits "made a concerted effort to accommodate local cultural and literary traditions in Marathi and Konkani." The project was able to digitise some records at the Pilar seminary, the Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr at Alto Porvorim, the Goenkarachem Diaz in Margão, the Goa University Library, the Pissurlencar Collection, the Xavier Center of Historical Research, the Gomes Catão papers, and those at the residence of Percival Noronha. It then said it hoped that more elaborate digitisation can take place later. The project reported a lack of time and resources "to digitise the large collection of early texts held at the Rachol Seminary" but says it was able to catalogue the same. The project was centred "in what used to be the troublesome border province of Salcete in the Old Conquests in Goa, where the Jesuit order made a concerted effort to accommodate local cultural and literary traditions in Marathi and Konkani". Grant-holder Chakravarti has explained that "the project was able to locate and identify significant repositories of documents held by families in the region. However, due to changing political situations, many families decided against having their documents digitised."

Some collections and personal libraries subsequently made their way to centralised locations in Goa. Historian B. Sheik Ali, the first Vice-Chancellor of the Goa University, saw in the Goa-related collections of Nuno Gonsalves and Dr P. S. Pissurlencar, currently housed at the Goa University library, "enough material in them for several scholars to obtain PhD degrees" (*Bibliography* II vii). In the collection of archivist-historian P. S. Pissurlencar, Sheik Ali noted the presence of "material not only on India but also on Ceylon, Burma, Malaya,

Macau, China, Japan, Portugal, Angola and Brazil... material not merely on Goa but also on [the] Konkan region, on Gujarat, on Maharasthra, on South India and even on Bengal" (II viii). Sheik Ali has also argued that the "importance of any library would depend not on [the] sheer number of volumes it carries but on the quality of those volumes. Judged from this standard, [the] Goa University library would surely have the distinction of being one of the richest treasure-houses on Indo-Portuguese history. (II vii)"

Old-timers also recall the one-off *Feira do Livros*, a festival of books, organised in the Portuguese era at a central garden in Panjim, probably in the late 1950s. But such initiatives have been few and far between. In the 1980s, the then-new Congress government set up a string of village libraries across the State. Pia Rodrigues has noted that in the Sixth Five Year Plan period, in the first half of the 1980s, a Scheme of Development of the Library Movement "proposed to open village libraries one in each village having 5,000 or more population and four taluka libraries, one in each taluka" (55). But the plans for the villages with over 5,000 population have not been met. Many of the libraries started then have since closed down, and the staff appointed there, retired. Apart from a couple of large and impressive libraries at places like Pato in Panjim and Navelim near Margão in South Goa, there are only a few other active libraries in Goa, currently too. The municipal libraries function at a busy pace, but most readers are found to be senior citizens visiting to read newspapers and magazines. Goa Government's scheme of handing over non-functional libraries or grants to non-governmental organisations does not appear to have drawn the expected results for the most. There have been challenges in implementing the same because the terms laid down or nominees selected might not enable the running of an efficient library. Nonetheless, initiatives have been undertaken.

On paper, Goa has a well-thought-out libraries act. The Goa Public Library Act, 1993 and Rules provides for the State to aid libraries, a State Library Council to be set up, public libraries which are eligible to receive grants-in-aid,

and it mandates that the "Government shall establish, maintain and develop [a] Library Service in the State" (1027). It also envisages the setting up of a Department of State Library, and a State Reference Library Section tasked to, inter alia, maintain a catalogue of the important academic libraries in the State, to undertake bibliographical work, to promote library services for children, and to organise library conferences and book exhibitions. It provides for the setting up of municipal, taluka and panchayat libraries. Under this law, the Goa Government has constituted a Library Fund, comprising of government grants and contributions from the public, besides a Library Cess. The cess is levied at the rate of an excise surcharge of 50 paise per proof litre of Indian-made foreign liquor or litre of beer. In terms of implementation, many of these tasks have however been left unfinished. Based on information sourced from the Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library Foundation (RRRLF), in 2019 Goa has a total of 136 public libraries. This places it at the third-lowest number of libraries among states in India, above Uttarkhand with 47 and Madhya Pradesh, 42 (Singh). But these figures may not allow a proper comparison, since other states have larger populations which the libraries cater to. Also, the numbers do not indicate the size of the libraries, or how active these are.

Library orders have been helping local publishers to make some books viable. But such schemes have mostly come up only in recent years, after the period under review. Overall, Goa lacks a library movement, unlike states like Kerala or Maharashtra. The Goa Granthalaya Sangh was active in Goa in the 1980s and 1990s. The lack of library movement is another factor that impacts the book culture and the possibilities of expression within Goa.

Figures available indicate that in the period between 2000 and 2007, Goa's main library had cumulatively bought 19,048 books for its circulating section and 2,805 for its reference section (Noronha, "Publishing Portuguese..."). It also received 426 and 2885 books respectively for its Rare Books and Goa Books Section and under the Delivery of Books [Public Libraries] Act. The Delivery of

Books Act is a law which obliges publishers to compulsorily submit three copies of each book published to the State Library, one of which is sent to the Parliament Library in New Delhi.

There appears to be a mismatch between demand and supply on the language front. For instance, there is an active publishing industry in Goa's neighbouring state of Maharashtra, mostly in Marathi; currently though the language is hardly taught in Goa beyond primary schools in Goa. At the same time, Marathi daily newspapers are popular among readers in general, in part because of the trajectory of Goa's post-1961 political linguistic priorities. On the other hand, Devanagari Konkani has been getting official government support since 1987, when just this script alone secured official language status for Konkani. Yet, Devanagari Konkani has not been able to significantly build up its number of readers, both in terms of newspapers or books. The Roman script, which was and continues to be popular, started getting some support, following protests, only in recent years. In 2012-2013, supporters of Roman script Konkani were still lobbying politicians and approaching the courts to get relief and support for their favoured script. The Directorate of Official languages site has noted that budgetary provisions of Rs 15 lakh per annum were given to the Romi-script promoting Dalgado Konkani Akademi since the year 2009-10. This was subsequently raised. On the other hand, English gets fewer grants, but benefits from a large quantum of books produced outside the state or even outside the country. Local production of Portuguese books is down to a trickle, and chances of purchasing books in this language are also remote, given its high prices of books sourced from overseas.

Goa, being a small State, means that promoting libraries might be difficult due to the lack of suitable market size. But, on the other hand, because of its compact nature, it could also be easier to reach out to its varied segments. In the twenty-first century, some libraries have initiated mobile operations through initiatives such as the Bookworm children's library, Bebook linked with Literati

in Calangute, and even the government-run Central Library at Panjim has its mobile operation, working with varying levels of efficiency.

It could appear that the printed word does not get the attention it deserves in the first home of printing in Asia. At times, it becomes apparent that dealers far away from Goa recognise the worth of some books produced here, or are at least willing to speculate over the same. For example, one online list has listed some such books for sale. A dealer in "old and rare" books based in New York, Richard C. Ramer, in a January 2018 pricelist, offered some thirty-nine books printed in Portuguese India, or related to Portuguese India and printed elsewhere in India, between 1838 and 1914, for sale at prices ranging from \$150 to \$1200 per book ("Special List 289").

When a book vanishes, it has adverse consequences for the author, publisher, printer, society as a whole as well as the attempts towards building a better-informed world. Scholberg has pointed out that some titles which "might once have existed, today they do not seem to be in anyone's library" (*Bibliography* ix).

Simone Murray has argued that the book has not died, but is instead flourishing in the Internet era. It is getting "widely discussed and reviewed in online readers' forums and publicized through book trailers and author blog tours." But the past quarter-century has seen the book culture "undeniably transformed" by digital media platforms. Since Amazon was founded in 1994, "the whole way in which books are created, marketed, publicized, sold, reviewed, showcased, consumed, and commented upon has changed dramatically. The digital literary sphere is no mere appendage to the world of print — it is where literary reputations are made, movements are born, and readers passionately engage with their favourite works and authors" (Digital Literary Sphere). This may not be the experience in a small region like Goa though, or the process may be still lagging.

Libraries elsewhere

A few other regions within India have witnessed innovative library movements. Kerala is one such prominent example. Ranjith (9) has praised the role of P.N. Panicker in organising a library network in Kerala over many decades. A commemorative stamp has also been issued as a tribute to Panicker, his figure looming large over a semi-circle of children seated on the floor and attentively reading the books before them (Ainy). Panicker, a Gandhian, "travelled all over Travancore, met the enthusiasts in the library movement, and secured all possible assistance from them in forming (and reviving) rural libraries. He devoted his life entirely for the cause of the library movement in Kerala" (Ranjith 9).

Libraries cannot be isolated from the rest of the book publishing eco-system. Significantly, Ranjith makes the point that the "history of the library movement is closely related to the growth of the publishing industry" in the state of Kerala (10). Printing and book publishing there was started in the latter half of the nineteenth century; in the early twentieth-century, publishing houses were launched. The publishers were mainly focussed on the literary works of eminent Malayalam scholars. The Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangham revolutionised Kerala's publishing industry after it was set up in 1949 (Swain 306). Its name in Malayalam could be translated to the Writers' Co-operative Society or the Literary Worker's Cooperative Society. The SPSS's goal was to publish the works of its members on a cooperative basis, which even "brought [about] a revolution in the availability of literature in the local language". Likewise, in Kerala, the library movement called the Grantha Sala Sangham "provided the people [with] a meeting place to read books and newspapers" (306). In its first 18 years, it produced 2000 books, an average of over a hundred a year. Or, one book every three days. This ended the scarcity of Malayalam books; earlier, public libraries in Kerala dealt mainly in English books. The library

movement in Kerala and the SPSS, also referred to as the SPCS, cooperated amongst themselves and changed the "history of printing, publishing, and sales of Malayalam books" (Ranjith 10).

Summary: This chapter focuses on the situation faced by the author during the twentieth century. It looks at reading in a small society and the role of libraries.

Adler has called publishing an "insider's game". The proximity to the publisher, geographical and otherwise, could determine who gets published. In twentieth-century Goa, only a few voices could make it to print, for a variety of reasons. This also reflected the small size of the local market, economic and technical difficulties in getting books printed and published, the lack of publishers in Goa. In such a context, authors tended to often be members of the affluent sections, and this shaped how the debate shaped out.

At one point, due to large-scale migration to nearby, big cities, Bombay turned into the main centre of production for Goa's literary products. There was a disruption of traditional elite control, particularly by the end of the twentieth century.

This chapter looks at the work of authors such as Reginald Fernandes, Bonaventure D'Pietro, Caridade Damasciano Fernandes and Gurunath Naik. These have been popular authors, widely accepted by the market, but seldom the subject of critical scholarly or literary appreciation.

An author or publisher in Goa has faced pressures, which include limited opportunities and small markets, the size of the print run, printing options and the overall viability of a book project. Some of these continue till present times. A larger book publishing sector in Goa could have resulted in a greater creative output. Lack of skills in multiple languages, and limited translations, has also stymied the growth of writing in Goa.

To break into the market, authors have had to try out various options to

ensure their work got published. But self-publishing came with its difficulties. Not-for-profit initiatives have also been tried to publish Goa or promote creativity. These range from literary conferences and lit fests, to group and voluntary initiatives in Konkani, and journals which provided a platform for the growth and spread of ideas. The role of reading is also looked at, while the impact of language-divides on the author is discussed. Finally, the role of libraries in Goa and elsewhere concludes this chapter.

The following chapter looks at migration out of Goa, and the impact this had on the book in Goa and its diaspora.

4

Beyond Home, Into the Metropole And Elsewhere

Publishing Goan writing away from Goa

We are the world wanderers And squanderers of love We have gathered shells and pearls From the seven seas And cast them on the shores For children to play We have built our huts On the crests of waves And uncaged songs from our hearts For the blue winds of freedom We have carried on our shoulders The weight of exile And in our flesh the thorn of thought Against this ceaseless wandering And the unseen, unbroken thread That runs through our history

We have sweated to build pyramids of hope In the noonday heat.

— 'We Are the World Wanderers' by Goan poet ManoharRai SarDessai, written in Konkani and translated by the poet.

Goa, like other former Portuguese colonies, and even Portugal itself, has been a strongly outmigration-oriented society. American anthropologist Robert S. Newman has argued that Goa has among the highest rates of out-migration in the world. Newman, as noted earlier, has made the scale of Goan migration clear:

[W]ell before and ever since [December 1961], Goans have been migrants to many parts of the world. The experience of Diaspora, of being a stranger in a strange land, has been a quintessentially Goan experience. Goa, along with Greece, Ireland, Malta, Lebanon and some small Pacific island states, must have one of the highest rates of migration in the world. (*Mothers* 59)

One needs to keep in mind that migration overseas is just just one aspect of the issue. There is also migration from other Indian states into Goa, which

had particularly high levels in the first decade after 1961 (Newman "Goa: The Transformation" 19). In addition to this, there also was the intra-region migration from one area to another within Goa itself. The latter takes the shape of migration from rural areas in the State itself to urban parts of Goa, and mainly from the 'New Conquest' to the 'Old Conquest' areas. All these forms of migration have distinct impacts and shape the literary culture of the region.

There are little to no statistics maintained about both out-migration and in-migration. Records about the 'place of birth' of a person, which are partially maintained in Goa, and sometimes referred to, can be misleading. Someone who is of Goan descent could be born in any part of India or the world, which is quite possible, given Goa's already-high level of out-migration among its earlier generations. Besides, anyone born in Goa cannot be differentiated in such statistics, which arises due to a lack of records on this aspect. One report, while giving a hint of the size of this phenomenon, however, mentions that "migration levels in the small western state of Goa was 77.4%" (Raghavan).

Goa has had publishing and literary links with distant, and, at times, even unexpected regions of the globe. Peter Nazareth, the Iowa-based professor, who was the first to undertake an anthology in the English language of Goan writing, points to this in his co-authored work (Nazareth and Henry). Much of his selection for an insightful anthology of Goan writing comes in from the diaspora, which is an indicator too. Part of the reason for this could be his focus on the world of English, or translations into English but it also reflects on the fact that a significant part of 'Goan writing' has emerged out of the diaspora. Describing his experience of unexpectedly getting caught up with the task of compiling the anthology, Nazareth stresses both about the diversity of the sources from across the world, and also the multiplicity of languages that came in through this exercise:

...[M]aterial did come in: from India, Australia, Canada, England, Portugal, and elsewhere. Many Goans, like West Indians, were living

outside, yearning for home, refusing to be denationalized.... I received writing by Goans, by Goans not about Goans, by non-Goans about Goans, by those who claimed one parent to be Goan and by someone who had started an organization to trace ancestry through the mother. I discovered that Goans had written in at least thirteen languages, of which the chief were English, Portuguese, Marathi, and Konkani — the last of these, the mother tongue, being written in three [sic] different scripts. How was I going to read all the work, let alone evaluate it? ("Alienation" 374)

Augusto Pinto has commented wryly about the contribution of this anthology and Nazareth's work:

If there is a category called 'Goan Literature' today, papers regarding which are taught at Goa University, then the blame must go to Peter Nazareth. Peter in 1983 edited an anthology of Goan writing for the *Journal of South Asian Literature* where he brought together not only writing in English by Goans but also literature in translation about Goa and Goans from other languages. ("Imprints of Moira")

Understanding Goan migration

John Nazareth, a statistician, incidentally the brother of Peter Nazareth cited above, has built perhaps the only comprehensive estimates available of Goa expatriates overseas, either in present times or from past decades.

His estimates mention what are the current numbers of expatriates Goans in various pockets of the globe, their number there during the heyday, and the "level of confidence" with which the statistician could guestimate this figure in the almost total absence of records of any sort. An exception to the lack of statistics was pre-1961 Bombay, where figures of Goan migration were available as Goans were then considered non-citizens there. In the table alongside, the

Bombay Goa Delhi	Today Number 400000	Today Number 1450000	Hey Number		Confidence	Date of estimate
Goa						
Goa	400000					
Goa	■ 4UUUUU			Now	7	15/6/1
	1000000			Now	10	15/6/1
	10000			Now	6	15/6/1
Mangalore	20000		100000	1700	6	15/6/1
ROI	20000		100000	Now	6	15/6/1
	20000	50000		11011	7	21/6/1
London	32000	30000		Now	,	21/6/1
						15/6/1
	_			NOW		21/6/1
ROOK	10000	42000				21/0/1
Kinnett	1 0000	43000		Marrie		00/0/4
						28/6/1
						28/6/1
-						28/6/1
						28/6/1
Bahrain	7000			Now	8	28/6/1
		34700				
						15/6/1
Hamilton						15/6/1
Montreal						15/6/1
Calgary			700	Now		15/6/1
Edmonton	700		700	Now	7	15/6/1
Vancouver	1500		1500	Now	6	15/6/1
ROC	1000		1000	Now	6	15/6/1
		6500				
Karachi	6000				4	15/6/1
Karachi			25000	1956	10	12/7/1
ROP	500				4	15/6/1
		5800		Now		
Svdnev	3000			Now	6	15/6/1
· · ·	_					15/6/1
						15/6/1
						15/6/1
						15/6/1
	2.00	5500		110/1		10.01
Nairobi	4000	0000	10000	1962	6	15/6/1
	_					15/6/1
	_					15/6/1
NON	500		4000	1902	5	13/0/1
		120				
Kampala	100	130	6000	1000	e	15/6/1
						15/6/1
						15/6/1
						15/6/1
ROU	30		500	1965	6	15/6/1
		2050				15/6/1
	Calgary Edmonton Vancouver ROC Karachi	Swindon 8000 ROUK 10000 Kuwait 13000 UAE 10000 Qatar 8000 Oman 5000 Bahrain 7000 GTA 28000 Hamilton 800 Montreal 2000 Calgary 700 Edmonton 700 Vancouver 1500 ROC 1000 Karachi 6000 Karachi 6000 Karachi 6000 Karachi 6000 Sydney 3000 Melbourne 1500 Perth 800 Brisbane 300 Adelaide 200 Mombasa 1000 ROK 500 Mombasa 1000 ROK 500 Mombasa 1000 ROK 500 Mairobi 4000 Mombasa 1000 ROU	Swindon 8000 ROUK 10000 Kuwait 13000 UAE 10000 Qatar 8000 Oman 5000 Bahrain 7000 GTA 28000 Hamilton 800 Montreal 2000 Calgary 700 Edmonton 700 Vancouver 1500 ROC 1000 Karachi 66000 Karachi 6000 Karachi 6000 Sydney 3000 Sydney 3000 Perth 800 Brisbane 300 Adelaide 200 Mombasa 1000 ROK 500 ROK 500 Mombasa 1000 Rampala 100 ROU 3130 ROU 300	Swindon8000Image: style st	Swindon 8000 Now ROUK 10000 Image: state	Swindon 8000 Now Now ROUK 10000 Now 8 Kuwait 13000 Now 8 Qatar 8000 Now 8 Qatar 8000 Now 8 Oman 5000 Now 8 Bahrain 7000 Now 8 GTA 28000 28000 Now 9 Montreal 2000 3000 1980 7 Calgary 700 3000 1980 7 Calgary 700 700 Now 6 ROC 1500 Now 6 6 ROC 1500 Now 6 6 ROC 1500 Now 6 6 ROC 1000 10000 1000 100 Rock 6000 1000 1000 1000 Rock 6000 1000 1000 1000 Rock 6000

categorisation 'RO' refers to "rest of" the country or region concerned.

	Iringa	50		200	1960	6	15/6/11
	Tanga	200		500	1960	6	15/6/11
	ROT	300		500	1960	6	15/6/11
Europe			5800				
	Portugal	5000		5000	Now	5	15/6/11
	Germany	300		300	Now	5	15/6/11
	ROE	500		500	Now	5	15/6/11
Rest of V	Vorld		7850				
	Gulf	7000		10000	1990	6	15/6/11
	Zambia	200		500	1968	5	15/6/11
	Malawi	100		400	1965	5	15/6/11
	ROAfrica	300		1000	1965	5	15/6/11
	Malaysia	200		300	1965	5	15/6/11
	Singapore	50		200	1965	5	15/6/11

Table 2: Estimates of Goan migration to various parts of the 167-168 globe. Source: John Nazareth.

Goan diasporic groups are scattered across the globe, and, with cyberspace enhancing visibility, it is now possible to keep track of their organisations in various cities and countries (Noronha *The Goan World...*). Goan writing from the diaspora is also being studied academically (Pereira-Madeira).

Writing in exile

Indications of the depth of Goan migration come in from other sources, such as an ambitious listing of Goan writing by Aleixo Manuel da Costa. Costa's story is interesting in itself. Born in Penha de França, Goa, the former head of the main library, Aleixo Manuel da Costa, 1909-2000, was part of the then Biblioteca Nacional Vasco da Gama of Pangim or Nova Goa since 1930 (Amilcar). The library is presently known as the Krishnadas Shama State Central Library, Panaji. He became the equivalent of its Curator in 1949 and retired in 1967 at the age of 58. Over his almost four-decade tenure in office, he collated bibliographic details of some 11,000 publications by Goans from Goa and across the globe, written in 14 languages. He then converted this into a biographical publication covering some 2000 writers from Goa. Costa's *Dicionário de Literatura Goesa* was published in four volumes, three of these came out in Macau in 1997, and the fourth, posthumously in Goa in 2013. The *Dicionário* covers the period from 1702 to 1950. The fourth volume covers 1951 to 1961, and the bulk of his work was compiled over two decades on manual typewriters. An earlier version of this work was published by the Agência-Geral do Ultramar in Portugal in 1967 and was titled *Literatura Goesa: Apontamentos bio-bibliográficos para a sua história*, or 'Goan Literature: Bio-bibliographical notes on its history'. It had first been published as a single-volume, 476-page book, covering authors whose surnames ranged between alphabets A to E (Amilcar).

Using this and other sources, it is possible to say that the following are the languages that Goans, at home and in its diaspora, have written in across the decades and centuries, including outside of the period under study:

TABLE 3: LIST OF LANGUAGES IN WHICH GOANS HAVE WRITTEN		
Language	Some authors who wrote in the language	
Konkani	Romi, many. Devanagari, many. Kannada script, many.	
	Malayalam script used till rather recently. Also Perso-Arabic	
	(Kamat "Bhatkal's Navayat Konkani").	
English	Very many. Among the most prominent and earliest was the	
	poet Joseph Furtado (1872-1947).	
Portuguese	Many contributors. See E. de J. Miranda's <i>Literatura Goesa</i> .	
Marathi	Many contributors. See Appendix 4.	
Hindi	Number of contributors.	
Kannada	Lakshmi Krishnadas Pai; Manjeshwar Govinda Pai; among	
	others.	
Tamil	Fr Jacome Gonçalves's Tamil writings on Catholic doctrines have	
	become the largest in number, in that language, produced by a	
	single author. See later in this chapter. (K.M de Silva, 261)	

Sinhala	Fr Jacome Gonçalves. Outstanding contribution to the Christian
	literature in Sinhalese and Tamil, both of which he mastered in
	Ceylon in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. His work
	covers scripture and theology, devotional hymns, lexicography
	(Sinhalese-Portuguese, Portuguese-Sinhalese and
	Portuguese-Sinhalese-Tamil dictionaries) and polemics.
Sanskrit	D.D. Kossambi. Acharya Dharmananda Damodar Kosambi
	(1876-1947). Mons. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado was professor of
	Sanskrit in Lisbon University, believed to be the first in any
	foreign university. He authored the book Rudimentos da língua
	sanscrita. Gramática, textos e vocabulário para uso inicial dos
	alunos do curso de sanscrito da Facuidade de Letras de Lisboa
	(Costa I 330). Jose Pereira taught Sanskrit at Fordham, US.
	Tolentino Ferrão was a Sanskrit scholar (A. F. Braganza 151).
Pali	Acharya Dharmananda Damodar Kosambi (1876-1947). He
	travelled to the then USSR in 1929 and taught Pāli at Leningrad
	University.
French	Joseph Barros (d. 1995). Globally known hypnotist Abbe Faria or
	José Custódio de Faria, 1756-1819, (Costa I 370). Alberto Carlos
	Germano de Silva Correia (b.1888), writing on medical issues.
	Lino Abreu (b. 1914), in <i>Lettres à Madame Pommeret</i> , letters to a
	French lady describing Goan life (1947). Joaquim Filippe Néri
	Soares Rebelo circa 1901. Constancio Roque da Costa, 1892.
	Poet Paulino Dias (Costa I 347). António Maria Bettencourt
	Rodrigues (Costa III 153).
German	Lourenço de Noronha, PhD in Vienna, has maintained the
	'Songs from Goa' website in Austria the 2010s. See later in the
	chapter.
	I

Spanish	Basilio Magno. Ana Machado de Dios, Eugenio Monteiro.
Norwegian	Ivo de Figueiredo, Goan on his father's side, considered to be an
	authority on Ibsen.
Latin	Abade — José Custódio de — Faria (Costa I 370). Agapito
	Lourenço, dissertation in Gregorian University 1947 (Scholberg
	Bibliography 298); Eduardo Simone a Souza, then a fifth
	standard student when he contributed in Latin to the 1937
	annual of the Colégio-Liceu Diocesano de S. José in Arpora.
Kiswahili	Lourenço de Noronha, PhD, lecturer in Kiswahili Literature at
	the University of Vienna, 1974-2009. Did a PhD in Cultural
	Anthropology and African Studies at the U of Vienna in 1976.
Italian	Ave Cleto Afonso, lexicographer. Dr José Pereira (Costa IV 117).
Swedish	Alfred Tavares, mainly journalistic writing.
Other	Acharya Dharmananda Damodar Kosambi travelled to Burma
languages	and undertook a comparative study of Buddhist texts in the
	Burmese language. At Harvard, Kosambi learned Russian.

There are other figures which give a hint of the role of Goan diaspora writing, in the past. In the nineteenth century, out of a total of 141 Portuguese language periodicals, 27 were published by the Goan/ Indo-Portuguese expatriate community in Bombay (Pendse 81).

Influences of other languages: There was also the influence of other languages on Goan writers. Though mostly overlooked back home today, the long four-and-half centuries of connections, links, conflict, bitterness and collaboration with the Portuguese could have not had little influence on the literature and creativity of Goa. It is possible to evaluate this both in either positive or negative terms, depending on one's perspective. Alfred F. Braganza describes the Portuguese language influence on Goa thus: Goans took no time to master the language of the rulers. From 1840 onwards, literary almanacs in Portuguese appeared, wherein Goans proved their talent in art and literature. The themes could not be other than Indian, and more specifically Goan. In the almanacs some literary talent budded and blossomed forth: Barreto Miranda, Gerson da Cunha and others who wrote on the history of Goa, the Konkani language and folklore. Elsewhere Goans also made a mark in the same field: Fr. Jacome Gonsalves' writing showed great Tamilian and Singhalese influences, apart from his compiling a Tamil Singhalese-Portuguese dictionary as early as 1772.... A cursory glance through the many issues of its periodical [of the Vasco da Gama Institute, renamed as the Instituto Menezes Braganza, will suffice to convince anyone that this institute, far from being a centre of Portuguese culture, as some outsiders are made to believe, is, in fact, an institute of Indian culture in the Portuguese language. It is Shakuntala in Portuguese skirts. In those issues, Goan scholars discoursed on themes essentially Indian. Suriaji Anand Rau, Tolentino Ferrão (a great Sanskrit scholar), Ismael Gracias, Cristóvão Pinto, Julio Gonsalves, António Noronha, Wolfango Silva, Benedito Gomes, Propercia Correia Afonso... Braganza Pereira and Pandurang Pissurlenkar wrote abundantly on subjects dear to their hearts through the medium of Portuguese. (151)

Other works also reflect such influences. Except a few developments in the last couple of decades, the role of the early novel in Goa has been largely overlooked in post-1961 Goa. *Jacob and Dulce* by Gip "met with great success in Goa, and was even translated into Konkani and English" (E. Machado). But the English edition had to wait till 2004 when it was translated by Alvaro Noronha da Costa with support from the Sahitya Akademi, India's academy of letters in New Delhi. The Portuguese original was first published in 1896. The role of *Os Brahmanes* was brought to wider pan-Indian attention by Adiga, who described it as one which "can claim to be one of the earliest Indian novels". Contrary to the other perceptions of this work, Everton Machado sees this as a work which, despite the place of birth of the author, "also gives us a very common Western image of India from that period, not to mention that he [the author] collaborates with that Western-style for 'dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient', as suggested by Edward W. Said." Melo e Castro, writing in 2019, has made a point about the possible caste dynamics of the work, and has said:

It is also worth bearing in mind that the author of this anti-Brahminical novel is not himself a Brahmin, but a member of the competing dominant-caste Chardos, a fact which has crucial implications for our reading of the novel in the context of Goa. It is by taking the Goan context and the possibility of an emergent Goan literary tradition into account that the novel gains in density and complexity, as much more than the pamphletary Christian novel it might first appear from a metropolitan standpoint. (*Woven Palms* 30)

Two works of Orlando da Costa, his novel *O Signo da Ira* and a play *Sem flores nem coroas,* translated in 2017 as *The Sign of Wrath* and *No Flowers, No Wreaths,* were overlooked by Goa mainly due to accidents of history. António Luís Santos Costa, the son of the once banned-in-Portugal Communist writer Orlando da Costa, had in the meanwhile assumed office as the Prime Minister of Portugal. The first translated work was thought to be a suitable text to present to the writer's son in New Delhi (TNN "PM Modi receives jersey").

Braganza also comments on other novels in Portuguese:

In the domain of fiction, five Goan novels remain outstanding. Though written in Portuguese and three of them published in Portugal, their characters are Indian to the core, and even the action is unfolded in Indian surroundings. Indian Sceneries (1894) is a novel by Leopoldo Dias, the action of which takes place in a Goan village, Betalbatim. Jacob and Dulce, written by Francisco da Costa in 1907, has absolutely local hue and character. But a great novel came from the reputed writer and parliamentarian, Francisco Luís Gomes, who in his letter to Lamartine, took pride in belonging to that race that invented chess and composed the Mahabharata. It is entitled The Brahmans (1856). This novel has its dramatic action unfolded in Fyzabad in northern India. It is pregnant with the message of liberalism. The white Brahmanism (greed to dominate) of the Englishman is set against the brown Brahmanism of the Indian. The message is universal: Brahmanism anywhere in the world is to be condemned. Social taboos like untouchability also come in for censure. Other works of his, both in Portuguese and French, such as 'The Liberty of the Land and the Rural Economy of Portuguese India,' brought him international repute, being acclaimed by both Portuguese and French savants like Lamartine and Victor Hugo. Recently Orlando Costa earned a niche among the Portuguese intellectuals with his Under the Spell of Ire (1960), a novel that grows out of the soil of Goa. Agostinho Fernandes' *Bodki* (1962) deals with Goan life wrapped up in the pall of superstitions. Alberto Rodrigues' three novelettes, Pathways of Light (1958), and short stories in Portuguese such as those of Laxmanrao Sardessai and Elsa Rocha, constitute other examples of the same type. (152)

The role of other Goans whose writing earned prominence in other parts of the globe also gets noted. Writers who trace their roots to Goa, despite the small size of the region, continue to network and influence the wider reality in the outside world. Writers such as the globally prominent D.D. Kossambi and his father Dharmanand Kossambi; US Conservative Dinesh D'Souza; the French-Konkani-Portuguese-English poet and professor ManoharRai SarDessai; the rare Goan supporter of the Black African nationalist cause in Mozambique Aquino de Bragança (Bragança); critic and novelist who describes himself as an "African writer" in Iowa Peter Nazareth; the author of books on topics ranging from Baroque architecture in Goa to Hindu theology or the sacred architecture of Islam and Goan traditional music Dr José Pereira; the late novelist of Goan-American descent who partly grew up in Venezuela Margaret Mascarenhas; and Sonia Faleiro have focused on a wider canvas and published internationally, drawing attention to writing from Goa. Some Goans were also involved with creating literature, like Luís de Santa Rita Vás, mentioned elsewhere.

Some books authored by Goans in diverse parts of the globe have shaped history in those regions, for instance, in East Pakistan and Ceylon. It was the news-reporting of the journalist Anthony Mascarenhas (Noronha "The article that changed history"), who later also authored books on the subject, that alerted the globe to the "genocide", as he described it, in East Pakistan (Mascarenhas "Genocide"). Mascarenhas was at the time an Assistant Editor of the *Morning News* of Karachi. Armand de Souza's early book *Hundred Days in Ceylon under Martial Law in 1915* is seen as having shaped the debate about British rule in an insular region of the Empire. Other books also focussed on Goans who played key roles in their diverse parts of the globe, such as Pio Gama Pinto, one of the rare Goans who openly supported the Black African nationalist cause against the British colonial rule, and Sita Valles (Leonor Figueiredo), who felt the new leaders who had taken over power in Angola, whose ally she had been not much earlier, were betraying the Revolution.

At times, a Goan connection comes up in themes which are distantly connected with literature. One such case was the rescue of Hemingway in January 1954 after an plane crash in East Africa. The rescuer was an expatriate Goan who was the captain of the launch *M.V. Murchison* (Karayalçin 57).

Captain Edwiges Abreo managed to locate Hemingway, his wife, and a pilot, but the writer wrote a "cruel portrait of the captain" (63). Karayalçin's essay, published in *The Hemingway Review*, scrutinizes Hemingway's accounts of what happened actually when the world thought he was dead, and his obituary had been published in the news. She then compares these accounts, which are rather uncharitable, with a version obtained through an interview with Gino Abreo, the son of the Goan man who rescued the Hemingways, and also the writing of the fourth wife of Hemingway, Mary, who accompanied him on that ill-fated trip which resulted in two near-fatal crashes, successively.

At times, the Goa diaspora story reached 'home' in unusual ways and through circuitous routes. Ronald Carlton Vivian Piedade Noronha, also known as RCVP or Ron Noronha, is remembered for having an academy of administration and management named after him in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh. He was also the first civilian administrator of post-1961 Goa and subsequently a chief secretary of Madhya Pradesh. His autobiography is titled *A Tale Told by an Idiot*. While the book has limited details relating to his stint in a tumultuous Goa of the times, reflects the reality of a diaspora family situated outside of Goa for two or more generations. It narrates Noronha's encounter with diverse regions and personalities within the wider Indian reality, his younger days, his love of wildlife and photography, and his sojourn in England where pressures from his mother led him into the British-time colonial Indian Civil Service.

Prominent Goans published in other centres: Prominent writers from Goa and their books that got published in other centres include the anthologist of Goan writing in Portuguese Vimala Devi, the cricket administrator Anthony Stanislaus de Mello, 1900-1961, the magazine *Dor Moinneachi Rotti*, the three Macau-published volumes of Aleixo Costa, Alan Machado in Bangalore, F.N. Souza who was published in London and other spaces where his works were exhibited, the writer on Konkani film, media and culture Isidore Dantas, publications of the Jack of All Stall in Mumbai, and authors with roots in Goa

such as one on the educationist-nun Mother Bridget FMCK who was based in Karachi (Ursula).

Francis Newton Souza, the internationally reputed artist whose work sold at millions of dollars but mainly after his death, represents an expat writer with a complex relationship with his home. In a letter penned a few weeks before his death, he commented:

In Goa, 27 January 02, Ah, Goa, the land of my birth. Saligas next door from where I am writing this at the marinha Dourada is the village I was born & Fredrick Noronah recalls all the old friends & places some dead, many still around ready to kick the bucket if they can find one ! I'm hickey to be a Goan. When I get annoyed with a Goan I call tim a goanese It's great to be in Goa Hancis Nertre

Photo 2: Note from F.N. Souza

In Goa, 27 January 02, Ah Goa, the land of my birth. Saligão next door from where I am writing this at the Marinha Dourada is the village I was born & Frederick Noronah [sic] recalls all the old friends & places, some dead, many still around ready to kick the bucket if they can find one. I'm lucky to be a Goan. When I get annoyed with a Goan I call him a Goanese! It's great to be in Goa! –Francis Newton Souza

Neighbouring Mangalore is home to one of the earliest diaspora to emerge out of Goa but not widely recognised as such; it has been publishing its work through local networks. This is true of both the Catholic and Hindu communities of Goan origin, based there. For the former, the Basel Mission Press at Balmatta, now renamed the Balmatta Institute of Printing Technology and Book Craft in Mangaluru, has been playing an important role. It recently celebrated its 175th anniversary in December 2016 and has been the first printing press in coastal Karnataka (J. B. Monteiro). There were other printing presses in the area, such as the Codialbail Press, which printed the weekly *Rakno* and was started in 1882, Sharada Press which was functional c. 1900 and Victoria Press in Bantwal since 1912.

Likewise, a recent translation reminds one that the first description of Bombay to be penned, in Marathi, was by a nineteenth-century writer also from Goa, Govind Narayan Shenvi Madgaonkar, 1815-1865. The author was better known simply as Govind Narayan. Titled *Govind Narayan's Mumbai: An Urban Biography from 1863*, this urban biography is currently seen as one of the early descriptions of Bombay, coming from the 19th century. Govind Narayan Shenvi Madgaonkar creates a detailed image of the current and past situation of the Bombay of those times. His work covers various themes ranging from the lay of the land to its people, famous places, the East India Company, the original settlers, the coming of the Parsis, and the many localities that then made up the city. His work, originally in Marathi, contains sections on architecture and history, shipbuilding, attacks and riots, statues, Governors of the time, shrines

and festivals, and even about the "enmity between the English and Portuguese people" or the "industriousness of the Parsis". Narayan migrated from Margão to Bombay while young; his father was an apothecary of sorts and dispensed various medicines in a Goa which then had limited economic opportunity. His description of Bombay is today considered a classic; it was translated into English in 2007 (Noronha"Early Bombay...").

Overlooked by most is the contribution by a native of Goa to the languages of Sinhala and Tamil. K.M. de Silva, has described the situation in Ceylon, and the role of the Goan missionary-writer, Jacome Gonçalves, and has commented:

Calvinist polemics against Roman Catholics, and indeed Calvinist tracts and other religious works were generally fewer in number than, and inferior in literary skills to, Roman Catholic literature of the same genre in the indigenous languages. In the seventeenth century, the Roman Catholic propagandists had begun by using the island's traditional folk drama for their evangelical work with translations into Sinhalese and Tamil from, and adaptation of works in, European languages for this purpose. Quite obviously, the visual impact of this art form and the spoken word were regarded as being more effective for proselytising than tracts and pamphlets in a society in which literacy was limited to a tiny elite. But by the end of the seventeenth century, the Roman Catholics had a substantial oeuvre of literary works to their credit, largely due to the efforts of Fr. Jacome Gonçalves, a Konkani Brahman from Goa. Arriving on the island surreptitiously to minister to the Roman Catholics in the littoral, Gonçalves found a convenient refuge in the Kandyan kingdom from which to conduct his operations. Very soon he mastered both Sinhalese and Tamil and, during his stay on the island, made an outstanding contribution to Christian literature in both languages. His works covered a wide range

of themes — scripture and theology, devotional hymns, lexicography (Sinhalese–Portuguese, Portuguese–Sinhalese and Portuguese–Sinhalese–Tamil dictionaries) and even anti-Buddhist polemics (a curious way, this, of repaying the hospitality and tolerance of the Kandyans). Gonçalves's Tamil writings — on the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church and refutations of heretical beliefs — were the largest in number, in that language, produced by a single author. (261)

Some aspects that go into making up the mix of Goan publishing, authoring and bibliophilia worldwide surface only anecdotally, as if by chance, at times. Sandra Ataíde Lobo recalls the friendship between Nuno Gonsalves and her father, the late Jorge Ataíde Lobo, in another continent ("Forgotten Bibliophiles"). Gonsalves subsequently donated a significant part of his library to the Goa University. In Portugal, Gonsalves attempted to convince Sandra Ataíde Lobo, then a student, to study Goa. She however did not feel obliged to do just because of her ancestral connection to this region. Gonsalves gifted books to the student, including a rare book by Bernard Peres da Silva, that was published in Brazil. This is probably one of just two copies in existence in the world, the second being held by the National Library of Brazil, the latter probably missing some pages. It was published in 1832, by Bernardo Peres da Silva. BPS, as he is sometimes remembered in Goa today, was the only ethnic Goan to be named Governor of this colony and was incidentally not accepted by the local elites dominated then by an ethnic Portuguese population. Peres da Silva was a Liberal, and in exile in Brazil. The King of Brazil, Don Pedro, was also a Liberal. In the meantime, however, Dom Pedro had decided to abdicate the Brazilian throne and reclaim power back in Portugal. Peres da Silva had reached Lisbon as a Deputy elected in Goa, but he reached there only when Portugal was in a state of civil war. This led him to go to France and then to Brazil. Ataíde Lobo has argued that Peres da Silva attempted to convince the Portuguese government-in-exile in London that a better way for the Liberals to regain power

in Lisbon would be to arrange an armada, sail all the way to India and attack the Absolutists after entering there via Goa ("Forgotten Bibliophiles" 03:17–05:29). He went even to Brazil to try and convince the king to undertake this complex plot. "I started becoming interested in studying [Goa] because of the conversations with my father," Sandra Ataíde Lobo has added ("Forgotten Bibliophiles" 05:40–06:17). The Portugal-based scholar has since studied the intellectual history of early twentieth-century Goa.

Others have also gained notice for their work, despite writing from locations rather distant from home. But, such cases are only a few in number. Novelist, poet, consulting literary editor and independent curator, the late Margaret Mascarenhas, best known for her diasporic novels Skin, also authored The Disappearance of Irene Dos Santos. Her critically acclaimed novel Skin has a plot set in three continents. She was of American and Goan descent but spent part of her childhood in Caracas, Venezuela (Ferrão 28). Speaking on her work, the gynaecologist-music promoter L. Dias has called her work "such a fascinating introduction to Venezuela, for people like us who have not been there" ("A Q&A..."). Mascarenhas has said that she wanted to write a story using the "telenovela tradition, or the radio novella actually, which started in the Cuban cigar factories to keep workers rolling the cigars entertained and interested" and was keen on using magical realism too (02:45-04:25). The Disappearance of Irene Dos Santos is set in Venezuela where Mascarenhas grew up. Skin, first published in 2001, was promoted in this part of the world as an "Indian magical realism" novel, according to the author, though Mascarenhas herself has noted she stood "magical realism on its head" (Margaret Mascarenhas on her novel... 03:38-04:06).

Other prominent names from Goa that link the diverse regions of Latin America include Dr Froliano de Melo, Prof Dilip Loundo, and Alfredo de Melo. Froliano de Melo is known to have left Goa in 1951, "after being ostracised by Salazar's dictatorship for his staunch defence of civil rights in Portuguese India.

São Paulo has a street named after him, while the local Medical College dedicated one of its halls in his honour" (Xavier, "Historical Links").

A hint of the challenges of mapping the world of Goan diasporic literature, especially in a pre-Internet era, comes up from the occasional correspondence of those working in this field. In 1995, the scholar George V. Coelho then based in Bethesda, Maryland, wrote to the Lisbon-based Dr Nuno Gonsalves seeking assistance to "produce an anthology of Goan poets (from the earliest times to the present day) in Lisbon and Goa and elsewhere – writing in Portuguese" (G.V. Coelho 626). That work, unfortunately, appears to have never got completed.

The work produced outside Goa by its diaspora continues to have its impact, even if not adequately noticed at home. Publishing one's work away from Goa involved a different logic from attempting to publish locally. Luís Santa Rita Vás, who authored over 27 books and has himself also played a role in the publishing world of Bombay, tells of his story and his encounter with publishing outside of Goa. His comments, which form part of Appendix C, give a hint of the difficulty of the potential Goan author in getting started. This could hold whether in a small place like Goa, where publishing barely existed in any organised manner or in a big city like Bombay, now Mumbai, where one was a stranger and new to the place and its mores. He explains his chance-entry into journalism studies and book publishing, on joining the prominent book publishing house in 1968. But entry to the Big City had its opportunities as well. As he has recounted:

Jaico was established in 1946 as a pioneer in English language paperback publishing in India. Mostly it reprinted, in paperback, foreign-published books like Frank Moraes' *Jawaharlar Nehru*, *Sunlight and Shadow*; TGS George's *Krishna Menon*; and Nirad Chaudhury's *Autobiography of an Unknown Indian* and *Continent of Circe*. Most Indian authors got their books published abroad. But things were already beginning to change. On the day I was interviewed,

my boss at Jaico was negotiating with Allied Publishers, an Indian publisher, paperback reprint rights for Gen B.M. Kaul's *Untold Story*, about the Chinese debacle, which they eventually published. (Appendix C)

What did this mean for local authors? After Vás pointed to the big names in publishing then, he responded to the query over how easy it then was for Goan content to get published, recalling his own experience:

As soon as I joined Jaico, I learnt that novels did not sell but that collections of short stories did. I put together my collection of *Modern Short Stories*, an amateurish job, but I didn't know any better, and they published it. It didn't do well, selling about 1,200 copies. Even so, many years later, they reset it and republished it without consulting me. It was full of mistakes. Even my name was misspelt.

In that period, both Bombay and Delhi were in contention for claiming the role as India's book publishing capital, according to Vás. He also explains the situation then, in the 1960s, 1970s and, in a different way, earlier, by recalling the setting up of the new generation of publishing houses in the Goa of the 1980s:

As far as I know, you had to go to Bombay or Delhi to get your work published. Claude Alvares, who was still a student in Bombay and then [completing] a doctorate ... in the Netherlands, had still to start his publishing venture in Goa [which he did] probably in the 'eighties. He used to visit me in Jaico while I was there.

Coping with distant challenges: But not everyone who published outside Goa, or settled there, could claim to have managed to cope with the challenges there. It can be argued that the publication of texts outside of Goa, some distance away, or even in remote locations, would have surely adversely impacted the creative potential of the authors. This implies reduced access due to geography or costs, or both, to the local readership or society on which the texts were based. Besides, it would make the publication dependent on gatekeepers less familiar with the local context, or who may have been influenced by remote factors rather than local ones. Publishing a text some distance away from its primary readership would make it tougher for local voices to express themselves, and to reach out to wider audiences back home which also shaped the discourse amidst these transfers. Prominent novelist and journalist, the US-based Victor Rangel-Ribeiro has often mentioned about the rejections he has had to face in his writing life; though he views this as due to the need for improvement, rather than due to a distant editor or publisher not being able to appreciate the writing. He has argued: "My work has been rejected numerous times, too many for me to remember, and I have never doubted the reasons for the rejections, even when, as in most cases, no reason was given" (Rangel-Ribeiro).

Connections between Goa and distant lands: There have been other connections too between Goa and far-flung regions of the globe. In 1953, prominent Brazilian writer Cecília Meireles, 1901-1964, visited New Delhi, where she was warmly welcomed by the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and was conferred an honorary doctorate by the University of Delhi. In 2017, the Lusophone Society of Goa was reminding another generation of "the history connecting Portuguese Goa with the rest of the world including countries like Brazil, Angola, and Macau" ("Bonding Goa"). An exhibition was held at the Krishnadas Shama Central Library in Panjim, in March 2017, comprising Goan newspaper articles, reports and interviews that had first emerged five decades earlier during the visit of the writer, educator and poet from Bazil.

António Pelegrino da Costa, a former professor of Linguistics and Music Education at the University of Maringa, Parana, Brazil, still teaches music and helps in conducting music exams out of his home near the Military Hospital at Campal in Panjim. The late Professor Eduardo Judas de Barros ("Adeus amigo"),

who headed the Department of Afro-Asian Studies at the State University of Londrina in Paraná, is credited as having been one of the founders of modern Indian studies in Brazil (C. Xavier). In the 1970s, he also edited a series of the impressive, but now largely unnoticed, *Gova Almanak*. These volumes are currently consigned to a few libraries, and include a 394-page edition in Roman-script Konkani dating to 1971 with contributions from prominent Konkani writers, cutting across the script or religious barriers (Barros). In the sphere of cartooning, the work of Mario Miranda was also deeply influenced by his visits to the outside world.

Connections between Goa and the external world also reflect in other ways. Occasionally, the visibility of Goan writing attracts the interest of scholars in distant countries. Goan writing in Portuguese has recently been studied in Latin America. Ana Cristina Kerbauy, a researcher from Brazil, has worked on texts that link both the regions, in a study called '*Ilustração Goana* e *Minerva Brasiliense*: a sedimentação do romantismo em Goa e no Brasil'. Kerbauy compares two literary magazines, the *Ilustração Goana* (1864-1866) from Goa and the *Minerva Brasiliense*, 1843-1845, highlighting "different conceptions of the relationship between literature and society; and the intellectual autonomy represented by each of them (7)". She has argued that "to a certain extent", Goa and Brazil showed similar historical processes due to their shared Portuguese colonial experience, "both revealing, to a certain point, prolific literary activity in the mid-nineteenth century."

Other Brazilian students have also opted for research on topics relating to Goan writing in Portuguese, a genre now increasingly overlooked in its home of origin. Angela Goldstein has worked mainly on short stories by Vimala Devi for her Masters. Pedro Vinícius Leite had undertaken a comparative study between *O signo da Ira* and *O ultimo olhar de Manu Mirando*, two novels by the award-winning, the Portugal-based late Orlando da Costa, whose family roots lie in Margão. Octavio Carillo has undertaken a comparative study between *O Signo*

da Ira and Lambert Mascarenhas' *Sorrowing Lies My Land*. João Cunha who had done a study on *Jacob and Dulce* by 'Gip' for his Masters, had subsequently taken up studying the works by the Goan author José da Silva Coelho. Prof Hélder Garmes had taken up a comparative study between *Os Brahamane*s (1866), the novel by Francisco Luís Gomes, and *The Guarani* (1857), the romantic Brazilian novel by José de Alencar who is considered one of the most famous Brazilian Romantic novelists (Noronha, "Goan writing in Portuguese").

According to Peter Nazareth, Professor of English at the University of Iowa and the editor of an early anthology on Goan writing, writers from Goa have written in a total of 13 different languages ("Alienation" 374); the actual number is more than what was earlier thought to have been, in that pre-Internet era.

Unusual dynamics: The challenges of getting published away from home sometimes come with unusual dynamics. For instance, the novel set in Canacona called *Bodki* (The Widow) was published in Porto, Portugal (Costa IV 41). This leaves questions on how the editorial process there managed to deal with the cultural realities from a distant land. In another instance, the work of the artist Francis Newton Souza was published in the *Encounter* magazine, edited by the poet Stephen Spender. Spender later quit the publication when it became known that the US Central Intelligence Agency had been funding it. Souza, incidentally, was known for his radical stands and was a founding member of the Progressive Artists' Group of Bombay.

There is also a case of an edition of *The Goa Inquisition* by Priolkar, which was published by the Bombay University Press in 1961. The book continues to cause controversy some six decades after it was published. On the other hand, The Catholic Church in India was published by the Government Press in Bombay in 1965 (Costa III 240).

Where Goa got published

TABLE 4 lists the centres where some twentieth-century Goan authors got their work published. The list is indicative and not exhaustive, it gives a hint of where all authors from Goa had to go to with their work.

CENTRES	NAME OF SOME PRESSES AND GOAN AUTHORS WHO WERE
GLIVIRLS	
	PUBLISHED AT THESE CENTRES
BOMBAY	Reginaldo Fernandes b.1914; Alfredo F Bragança b 1927;
	António da Costa SJ, b. 1923; Aleixo Caetano José Francisco
	d.1916 (Costa I 423); Varde Valaulikar published by Gomantaka
	Press (Chápkháno). Tip. de O Anglo-Lusitano (1888); Associated
	Advertisers Press (1936); Central Printing Works (1947); Tip.
	Furtado (1911); The Karnatak Printing Press; Union Press (1936);
	Job Printing Press (1874); Ed. de B X Furtado & Filhos; Tipografia
	Vijava (Vijaya?); Albert Printing Works; Victoria Printing Press;
	Ave Maria Press (1949); Tip. de A P Cortez & C ^{ia} (1891); R.
	Noronha and C ^{ia} ; Gomantak P. Press; Manaktalas (1964); Typ. de
	Portuguez Britannico (1892); Sindhu Publications (1971); Tip.
	A.F. Fernandes (1911); Betal Prakashan (published H.O.
	Mascarenhas in 1960); Maharashtra Grantha Bhandar (1945).
	Manaktalas (1964) George Mark Moraes. Subhash Bhende: Pra
	A K Priyolkar, smritigrantha; B.X. Furtado and Sons, 1935 etc.;
	Goa Hindu Association; State Board for Literature and Culture,
	1972 (published Gawdi Survey of Marathi dialects). Konkan
	Institute of Arts and Science. Published Antsher Lobo: Jivit ani
	mornn San Francis Xavierachem; Solfam soit xlokamnin.
	Mona-Lisa Publications 1974, published George Mark Moraes.
	Tip. A.F. Fernandes (1911). National Congress, Goa (1954).

Delhi / New	Goa Freedom Publications (published Evagrio George in 1956).	
Delhi	Also Carmo Azavedo in 1956.	
KARACHI	Sadar-Sousa published Agostinho Francisco de Sousa's 62-page	
	Konkani Grammar in 1939 (Costa III 256). João Roberto de	
	Souza was also published here (Costa III 286). The Rotti Press	
	also published a number of religious books and booklets of	
	authors such as António Ludovico Pereira (Costa III 35).	
MADRAS/	Lusitanian Press (1859), Tip. Gowantaka (Gomantaka?).	
CHENNAI	Higginbotham's. Published Thomás de Noronha's Tales of India	
	in 1910. 142 pp.	
CALCUTTA	Poems, by Joseph Furtado, published by Thacker, Spink & Co. in	
	1901. Joaquim José António de Campos' History of the	
	Portuguese in Bengal. 1919. Butterworth & Co. (Costa I 139)	
Poona	Aryabhushan Press (1936), Ed. de Vaz & Bros. Ltd.	
MANGALORE	Codialbail Press. Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository	
	(1882). <i>Rakhno</i> .	
Hyderabad	Press not mentioned. Work of Francisco Xavier Vás (1859-1929)	
	(Costa III 324)	
SAWANTWADI/	Savantvari State Press, 1895. See also Costa (III 177)	
SAVANT-		
WADDI		
MALVAN	Jerónimo Pinto's catechism Doutornichem pustoc was published	
	here (Costa III 72)	
JUBBULPORE	The Poems of Joseph Furtado, (self?)-published in 1895.	
Shimla	Government of India Press (1939) (Scholberg <i>Bibliography</i> 115).	

LISBOA /	Included Alvaro Colaço (b. 1893); Orlando da Costa (b. 1929);
LISBON	Mons. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado and Eufemiano Dias (b. 1928).
	Published by Ed. da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. Lisboa:
	Edições Paulistas (1969). Agencia Geral do Ultramar (1961-63).
	Imprensa Nacional published Daniel Gelanio Dalgado, on <i>Flora</i>
	de Goa e Savantvadi, in 1898.
Porto	Agostinho Fernandes (b. 1932) author of <i>Bodki</i> , 1962; Roberto
	Belarmino do Rosario Frias (1853-1918). (Costa I 426).
COIMBRA	José Carlos do Rosário Alberto (b 1932); Belmira de Batista
	Almeida (b 1925); Narana Sinai Coissoró (b 1933); Jacinto dos
	Milagres Estibeiro (b 1926); Imprensa da Universidade (1916);
	Imprensa da Universidade (among those published was
	Francisco Correia Afonso writing on the mando, 1933)
Luanda	José Frederico Ferreira Martins (Costa I 405).
Beira	Tip. Minerva Comercial (1932)
Lourenço	A.W. Bayly & Co. Minerva Central published Domingo José
MARQUES	Soares Rebelo in 1973. Tip. do <i>Noticias</i> published Cordato
(Maputo)	Noronha in 1933.
PRAIA (CABO	Dom José Filipe do Carmo Colaço. (Costa IV 26).
Verde)	
NAIROBI	Júlio Campos' A Literary Piracy Denounced, 1902 (Costa I 141)
Rio de	Bernardo Peres da Silva in 1832 (Costa III 54); J. Leite (1922).
JANEIRO	Alvaro dos Remédios Furtado (1928).
London	Joseph Furtado, published at Chapman & Hall Ltd. (1927).
PARIS	The 1927-founded Les Éditions des Cahiers Libres published the
	doctor-journalist Roque Salvador da Silva of Ribandar in 1934
	(Costa III 233)
Moscow	Beatriz Menezes Bragança (Costa IV 96).
	·

SINGAPORE,	Caetano Xavier Furtado (Costa I 432).
Malaya,	
MANILA	
Colombo	Dom Caetano António Pereira (Costa III 38)
MISC.	António Vicente Valente de Bragança Cunha, professor of
	Portuguese Literature in U. of London, got published in London,
	Calcutta, Bombay etc (Costa 1 122).
	Joaquim Joseph A. Campos got his History of the Portuguese in
	Bengal (1919) published at Butterworth in Calcutta/London.
	Other authors got their work out via New York City; Rio Grande
	de Sul in Brazil; Alcobaça, Portugal; Lourenco Marques
	(Maputo); Dar es Salaam; Macau; Porto Alegre; Pernambuco
	and Recife in Brazil; Rome and Paris (Abade Faria); Tokyo;
	Nanking; and Macau (Pedro Joaquim Peregrino da Costa, in
	Costa Vol I 278); Hong Kong; Bangkok; Belgaum; Karwar;
	Dharwad; Ernakulam; Tanjore (Costa III 47); Allahabad and
	Shimla (Costa III 37).

Summary: This chapter looks at the relationship between Goan writers and the outside world. In particular, it focuses on how this has influenced and shaped the creation, understanding and dissemination of 'Goan' writing, often in English but also in several languages from across the globe.

Goa has had significant levels of outmigration over more than a century. This region is seen as possibly having "one of the highest rates of migration in the world" (Newman, *Mothers*... 59). One of the early comprehensive studies of Goan writing emerged from the diaspora itself, through the work of Nazareth in the United States in 1985, and the editor has narrated the response he received from across the globe and in diverse languages ("Alienation").

Some available statistics give an idea of the level of migration in different parts of the globe, present and past.

The reflection of diasporic writing in the extensive bibliography of Aleixo Manuel da Costa is also noted, as in other works. It is pointed out that Goans have written and worked in a total of eighteen or more languages, the figure varying somewhat depending on how one takes the count. Goans have written in the following languages: Konkani, English, Portuguese, Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit, Pali, Kannada, Sinhala, Tamil, French, German, Spanish, Norwegian, Latin, Kiswahili, Italian, Swedish, and other languages (Burmese, Russian).

The influence of other languages, such as Portuguese, on Goan writing, is also looked at. Among works mentioned are *Jacob and Dulce. Os Brahmanes. O Signo da Ira* and the play *Sem flores nem coroas* by Orlando da Costa. There are also other Goan novels in Portuguese.

Other prominent names in Goan diasporic writing include D.D. Kossambi. Dharmanand Kossambi, US Conservative Dinesh D'Souza; the French-Konkani-Portuguese-English poet-professor ManoharRai SarDessai; novelist Margaret Mascarenhas; African nationalist theoretician and guerrilla in Mozambique Aquino de Bragança (Bragança); critic-novelist and 'African writer' Peter Nazareth; the polymath Dr José Pereira; and novelist-journalist Sonia Faleiro. So is Govind Narayan Shenvi Madgaonkar, author of the recently widely recognised *Mumbaiche Varnan* (G. Narayan). Jacome Gonsalves, is known for his writing in Tamil and Sinhala. Prominent Goan individuals or publications published elsewhere, such as the Goan anthologist writing in Portuguese Vimala Devi, the cricket administrator Anthony Stanislaus de Mello, the magazine *Dor Moinneachi Rotti*, the three Macau-published volumes of Aleixo Costa, Alan Machado in Bangalore, F.N. Souza who was published in London and other spaces where his works were exhibited, among others. A table listing some of the range of places where Goans got published covers Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Poona, Mangalore, Sawantwadi, Shimla, Lisboa, Porto, Coimbra, Luanda, Beira, Lourenco Marques and Rio among other places . But not everyone who published outside Goa, or settled there, could claim to have managed to cope with the challenges there.

In the next chapter, we will see how politics – including that of language – has influenced the book and the written word in Goa.

5

Prose, Politics, Power

Language shifts and other non-literary trends that shaped writing in Goa

Here's the sad truth: most people who write a book will never get it published, half the writers who are published won't see a second book in print, and most books published are never reprinted. What's more, half the titles in any given bookshop won't sell a single copy there, and most published writers won't earn anything from their book apart from the advance. — Ian Irvine, Australian novelist, marine-scientist.

The levers of power in building hegemony over the discourse in Goa have been controlled through the use and privileging of language. It can be argued that the history of literature in Goa is a reflection of the history of shifting linguistic power and language trends in the region. Across the centuries, the rise and fall of the power of diverse languages give a hint of power equations, as also the impact this has had on literary creation and diversity in what is a multilingual region. In this chapter, we focus on language shifts in multilingual Goa, the complexities of the language reality here, the challenges facing Goan writing in English at present, the impact of technology or the lack of it, the 'politics of the book' and forms of control over it. These language shifts in twentieth-century Goa have come about due to a range of factors: official and state policy; the migration of individuals and groups; political influences from within or outside the region; cultural influences in fields like entertainment and music; educational policies; colonial approaches; and the pan-Indian Central government policy over linguistic states, among others.

These trends have occurred continually, not just in the period under review. This is visible in almost any cemetery in Goa, for instance, where one can see obvious signs of shifts in language trends in this region. Some of the recent tombstones stand out for their texts in the English language. Tombstones dating back to an earlier period, such as the 1970s or 1980s, would probably be engraved in a language like Konkani. This would be usually in the Roman script, given the dynamics of the language and inter-community usage of scripts. A little earlier, and in the 1960s and prior, quite a few gravestones would have been in the Portuguese language, the language of the elite of those times. But there would also be trends towards English which was visible at that time itself, depending on the region one is visiting. This reflects the situation that migration to British-ruled India, including cities like Karachi, and Anglophone East Africa or the Persian Gulf region, has been a reality in this region since the late nineteenth century. This is discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

There have been different trends over recent centuries. The push for promoting diverse languages in Goa has also come from varied quarters. Diaspora communities in centres like Bombay have played a key role in promoting and driving interest in the Konkani language. Shenoi Goembab was Bombay-based for much of his working life. The Konkani Bhasha Mandal, set up in 1942 during the Second World War, ("Konkani Bhasha Mandal Mumbai – 60 Years") and the All India Konkani Parishads, held its sessions in cities such as Bombay on multiple occasions and also in Karwar, Dharwad, among other places (J.B. Moraes). Most Catholic Goan migrants to Bombay were

pro-Konkani, and in some cases promoted the language through music and song. At the same time, a lack of knowledge of the Konkani language did not prevent some from supporting its cause.

The graphic below attempts to summarise the changes that the book in Goa saw over the centuries, in connection with language and political changes taking place here.

Language, politics and the book in Goa over the centuries				
Goa was part of the early la core, since 1556 C.E.		rtuguese ge, once at the ere, after 1961 e the periphery.	Local and regional languages like Marathi Konkani, and English, grew in stature, post-1961.	
Regions within Goa have also witnessed shifting roles as core/ periphery. Geographical location of the 'core' within Goa has shifted.		and the identi periphery wit	the changing nature ity of the core- hin Goa (based on up, caste, community, c).	

Table 5: Language, politics and the book in Goa over the centuries

Over time, Goa has seen a shift in the relative power of different languages. The role played by diverse languages in the region before the Portuguese conquests and annexation by treaty has been contested (Pratap Naik "Konkani Myths"; "Konkani Scams"). In the first Goa Assembly too, early debates from 1963 and thereafter indicate the bitterness generated over language competition, in this case between Marathi and Konkani ("Legislative Assembly"). The then government and its legislators pushed controversies over language, in an era which saw the instrumentality of language in reshaping political power in Goa. Portuguese was already seen as the language of the colonial ruler. The speedy demise of Portuguese in post-1961 Goa has also been noted (*Reader's Digest*, "India with a Portuguese accent"). Melo e Castro has argued that the "status of the Portuguese language speaks volumes about the break in Goan history in 1961" and adds that "[i]f Portuguese is now a distant third language in schools used only in a scattering of homes, such a reduced role is a post-colonial development" (Woven Palms 2). Prof A. C. Afonso has discussed the death of the Portuguese newspapers in the Goa of the 1960s, and the reasons for the same which ranged from journalistic and technological backwardness to differences with the new administration, caste conflict and rivalry among Catholics, the mistrust of Portuguese speakers in that era, inability to keep up with the new social reality, readership, the takeover by English in society at large, blocked government advertisement, and overall difficulties to keep up with the times ("The Goa Media in the 1960s."). An exception was O Heraldo, later referred to as the Herald, which survived till 1983 and then converted itself into an English-language broadsheet, as discussed later. But to argue that Portuguese never took root as a language in Goa might miss the point that the language did play an influential role in shaping Goan thought and vistas in multiple ways over the centuries, as discussed in Chapter 2. Reflections of this can be seen in diverse ways, with embers of the language still showing up. Social media today carries some traces of the Goan Portuguese connect. Programmes of Portuguese song contests, called 'Vem Cantar' or 'Come, Sing!', are organised by the Fundação Oriente annually in Goa (Figueira 16:44–16:58). Portuguese can be studied as a third-language in Goan schools, and continued, optionally, right up to the M.A. Degree level at the University.

The speedy 'demise' of Portuguese

The rapid decline of the Portuguese language in post-1961 Goa has been treated with a mix of surprise and an air of resignation. There have been different interpretations of why Portuguese of the pre-1961 era was speedily replaced by English in the bureaucracy, judiciary and newspapers; Marathi in primary education and newspapers; Devanagari Konkani in primary education; or even, to a lesser extent, by Romi Konkani in magazines, and music and entertainment.

The Portuguese language in Goa got caught up in the divide on either side of the political developments of 1961. Goa's formerly dominant language dating back to colonial times, Portuguese, which is still considered by some as the language which indicates past status, is, however, a politically incorrect choice currently, as suggested by the work of Wherritt (1985, 1989).

Writing in 1985, Wherritt argued:

In Goa, India, a shift is taking place from Portuguese to English and Konkani. Language choice relates to the variables of religion, sex, and age. Catholics utilize Portuguese more than Hindus, and women tend to maintain the language of their family and religion more than men. The younger generation has little incentive to utilize Portuguese and it is likely that with another generation the Portuguese language will remain only through loanwords in Konkani. (437)

At times, developments from the world of politics have affected the written word. The Margão-origin writer Orlando António Fernandes da Costa, 1929-2006, whose son would go on to become the Prime Minister of Portugal in 2015, was a member of the banned Portuguese Communist Party, or PCP, when his book *O Signo da Ira* was published in 1961. Portugal was still under dictatorship and censorship then. Commenting on the reactions to his book in Goa, where the novel is set, he reflected the disappointment of an author whose work had slipped in between the cracks for political reasons. Besides, the work had been treated unfairly at home too, in his view. Costa's work was censored in Goa before December 1961, and probably seen as irrelevant in Goa because of the shifting debate and changing dominant discourse and language thereafter. In a note shared with this researcher, the author commented:

My *O Signo da Ira* has been 'banned' in Portugal and all the Portuguese colonies in Africa; and in Goa, I may say that it has been 'conveniently' silenced by the brahmin 'intelligentsia' of Margão. Except [for] a very

incompetent [critique] made by Pedro Correia Afonso — a[n] agronomy engineer with some 'vocation' to write in *A Vida* — I know about two good appreciations by Fr. Leopoldo Rocha and [Walfredo] Antão. And that is all! (Costa, personal communication.)

Other studies have also come up about recent Goan writing in Portuguese. The thesis by the researcher-priest Eufemiano de Jesús Miranda (2012) is known to have taken by surprise twenty-first-century Portuguese scholars who did not expect to find so many texts in the Portuguese language in Goa penned a century earlier or less. Teachers of Portuguese in Goa were also surprised to encounter such an amount of Goan writing in the Portuguese language dating back to that era (Correia da Silva). *Oriente e Ocidente na Literatura Goesa* focuses on Goan writing in Portuguese in the twentieth century. Miranda's work was finalised for publication while he was serving as a priest at churches in Santa Ines in Panjim and Chicalim in Mormugão.

Miranda's work is divided into five themes:

- The clash between the worlds of Brahmanism and European liberalism;
- Social conflict in the countryside *bhatkars* (landlords) and *mundkars* (tenants)
- 'Mother-India' and its millennial traditions;
- The 'dancers' and the fascination that they exerted on Goan writers;
- Goan customs and habits.(Garmes 3–5, translated)

But not all of this work has been well documented. There are still questions being asked today, such as 'What happened to Indian literature in Portuguese?' (Everton Machado). Even issues of definition remain. The Brazilian scholar of the Department of Classical and Vernacular Letters at the University of São Paulo Prof. Dr Hélder Garmeshas noted that Miranda uses the term 'Indo-Portuguese' to cover works that were produced in Portugal by immigrants from the East, the works of Portuguese residing in the East as well as works carried out in the East under Portuguese patronage (Garmes "Prefácio" 1-2). This definition adopted by Miranda, Garmes writes, is quite broad and allows integration of a "wide spectrum of works related, in one way or another, to the Portuguese colonization of Goa".

Garmes and Melo e Castro have also jointly debated the term "'Indo-Portuguese Literature', a term we still encounter today" as a description for Portuguese-language writing produced by Goans (17). They note that "the notion of Goan as a transplanted enclave of Portuguese [has been] replaced by the idea of Goa as an essential Indian society conditioned by 450 years of Portuguese colonialism". Garmes and Melo e Castro argue that:

Whereas the label 'Indo-Portuguese literature positions Goan writing as a minor and exotic appendage to Portuguese literature, conceptualising this corpus as 'Goan literature in Portuguese' endows it with autonomy status while yet maintaining its links to other Lusophone literary traditions with the macrosystem of Portuguese-language literatures. (36)

They ask whether a more suitable term might be 'Goan literature in Portuguese'. Another term that has been used is 'Portuguese-language Goan literature'.

There has been some degree of diversity even in Goan writing in the Portuguese language, which is set to fade out with time and the decline of that language. For instance, Miranda touches on a wide range of writing. This includes: *Auréola dos índios e nobiliarquia bracmana* (1702) by Padre António João Frias; Francisco Luís Gomes' *Os Brahâmanes* (1866); Orlando da Costa's *O Signo da Ira* (1961); Vimala Devi, Laxmanrao Sardessai and R.V. Pandit lending voice to the *mundkar*-tenant issues of Goa; the influence of *Bharat-Mata* or *mãe-Índia* and how this influenced the poetry of Nascimento Mendonça's 'A morta' and the novel *Os deuses de Benares*; Mariano Gracias' 'Metempsicose' and

'Regresso ao lar'; Laxmanrao Sardessai's story 'A ambrósia' and his poems 'Gaudo' and 'Eu ouço teus paços, Senhor'; Manuel Salvador Sanches Fernandes' 'A lira da Índia'; Adolfo Costa's 'Rishi'; Paulino Dias' 'Viassa'; and Adeodato Barreto's poems 'Sivaji' and 'A casta'.

Delfim Correia da Silva, Director of CLP-Camões in Goa and Visiting Lecturer at the Department of Portuguese & Lusophone Studies, Goa University has argued that Eufemiano Miranda's 2012-published work *Oriente e Ocidente na Literatura Goesa*

constitutes a milestone in the history of Goan literature in the Portuguese language. This is a fundamental contribution in the attempt to establish of a possible Goan literary canon [for writings in Portuguese], after the unavoidable reference works by Vimala Devi and Manuel Seabra or even that of Filinto Cristo Dias. Given that there have been almost no books published in this language, except for the novel *Preia-Mar* by Epitácio Pais in 2016, we can easily verify that, Portuguese practically disappeared as a literary language from Goa after 1961. ("Text...")

In an attempt to collate and translate the Portuguese short story written in Goa, University of Glasgow Hispanic Studies faculty member Paul Melo e Castro undertook a careful search through generations-old newspaper files and other sources, where this form of writing had been scattered over a thirteen-decade period. Discussing the Portuguese-based short stories of Eduardo de Sousa "and the post-1961 vision of a Goan elite in decline", Melo e Castro explains his choice of the title for his anthology, which has relevance to the discussion underway here too. It also gives a hint of the state of the Portuguese language in today's Goa:

The title of this collection is taken from the epigraph of Vimala Devi's *Monção*, two lines from a Portuguese translation of the Sanskrit poet

Kalidasa, which reads: *A sombra da árvore alonga-se ao pôr do Sol/Sem nunca se separar dela* [The tree's shadow lengthens at sundown/without ever splitting from it]. Partly this choice is homage to Devi and Manuel de Seabra, who have done more than anyone to preserve and transmit Goa's Lusophone literary heritage. Partly this title serves as a stimulus to ponder just how far the shadow of Portuguese-language literature has crept from the trunk of contemporary Goan reality and consider whether some attachment persists between the mindset, concerns and style of the writers who appear here in English translation and the contemporary Goan literary scene. The answer to this question exceeds the purview of this introduction. The reader will have to make up his or her own mind. (Melo e Castro I:54)

The Portuguese language influenced Goa for long, but not without contestation. José Cristóvão has argued that Portuguese was first decreed and named the official language of Portugal itself by the 'Poet King', Denis or Dinis, 1261–1325. Every Portuguese Constitution since 1833 reaffirmed Portuguese as the official language of Portugal and its territories. Goa, being part of the Portuguese territory then, also had Portuguese as its official language. Thus, Continental Portuguese law made Portuguese the official language of Goa. Nineteenth-century Portugal has had a centralised government, and the law was applied equally in all parts of the Empire. On paper though, there was no law specifically declaring Portuguese the official language of Goa (Cristóvão).

The Portuguese language faced erosion and competition. This came up from the growing economic and political clout of other global rival languages, particularly English. Its effects was visible in Goa during the mid-twentieth-century itself. For instance, the Calcutta-based historian Jadunath Sarkar sought to convince the Goan archivist-historian Pissurlencar to write in English way back in 1929. Sarkar then wrote: You are doing a great injustice to your labours and talents by delaying the publication of an English work embodying your valuable researches in the history of Shivaji and Sambhaji. Others who have borrowed everything from you and received the generous loan of your transcripts are boasting of being the greatest authority on the Portuguese sources of Shivaji and totally ignoring their debt to you. They have the ear of the learned world, which can be approached only through books written in English and not in Portuguese — least of all by means of your local Goa magazine. (Shastry & Navelkar III 141)

Ismael Gracias has also argued that Gerson da Cunha's projection in the Western academic community would hardly have occurred if Portuguese was his language. He has been quoted as having argued: "Who in France or England knows a Cunha Rivara, a Filipe Nery Xavier?" (Ataíde Lobo "O desassossego goês" 70)

It is easy to note a correlation between the officially-supported script or language and the literary production in the region. The demise of the Portuguese rule in 1961 also saw the eclipse of that language. What is believed to have then been the last daily Portuguese newspaper in Asia folded up in 1983, when *O Heraldo* changed its format, from tabloid to broadsheet, and language, from Portuguese to English. In doing so, it morphed into a completely new product, recognisable only in part due to its typographically-tweaked masthead of *O Heraldo/Herald*. which offered some visual continuity amidst the linguistic changes, and those on other fronts. The decade of the 1960s saw the demise of Portuguese language newspapers in Goa. This trend only accelerated with time. Portuguese newspapers in post-1961 Goa were either seen as supportive of the *Ancien Régime*, or out of step with the new political realities.

Discussing the issue of language in another context, that of newspapers in post-1961 Goa, Afonso has argued that the new regime in post-1961 Goa tended to mistrust the Portuguese language press, which was then seen as being

synonymous with the past. In his view, the "inability of those manning the papers to transcend their own fixations" was a key factor for the collapse of the Portuguese newspapers in Goa. Afonso, one of the few journalists who was a participant in the Goa Portuguese-language media of the 1960s and is still active in other fields, also concedes that the lack of financial support and official advertising to the newspapers also contributed to their collapse. Together with this, he also points to the "changed financial dynamics", and the falling readership. The rare other journalists from that era who are still available to tell their story point to the acute difficulties of those changing times, especially since Portuguese papers had to cope with the change from an era of censorship to one of intense market competition (Alvaro Leão Fernandes; "The Goa Media in the 1960s").

Added to this, the State patronage of Portuguese was ended abruptly. Post-Liberation local politics also had their peculiar dynamics. In place of Portuguese, a new breed of English-language and Marathi, and, to a lesser successful extent, Konkani, newspapers grew here. Elsewhere, the closure of Portuguese language newspapers after 1961 is also discussed. The acrimonious note on which Portuguese colonial rule ended in Goa in 1961 meant linguistic and cultural ties could not be sustained. It was only after the change of the Portuguese regime in 1974, nearly half a generation too late, that relations were once again normalised between Portugal and India. Even till the mid-1990s, lingering suspicion amidst a section of public opinion in Goa meant that an influential, if small, group held protests against, or were sharply critical of, developments like the opening of the Portuguese Consulate in the State, or the inauguration of the Delegation in India of the Fundação Oriente, at Fontainhas, sometimes called the Latin Quarter of Panjim.

After 1961, Portuguese ceased to be a language of elite discourse. By the 1990s, the last thirty-minute once-weekly, Friday-nights Portuguese programme called *Renascença* ended its weekly broadcasts from All India Radio, at Panjim.

Station officials have highlighted the growing difficulty to access Portuguese speakers to generate content for the programme. It was only in 2018 that the programme came back on the air, this time as a sponsored programme on FM radio, after nearly two decades (D'Cruz). This happened because of newer technology such as FM radio, and All India Radio policies which allowed small groups to hire out blocks of time inexpensively. At the same time, the growth in audio technologies made recording programmes easier and far more affordable.

Yet the Central Library still has vast holdings in the Portuguese language. These are used only by a few interested scholars and others, with many limited by lack of language skills or interest, often both. In a *Report of the Rare Books and Local History Section 2006-07*, in the form of a cyclostyled text, the Central Library, when it was still situated at its earlier premises before shifting to a new spacious one, talks about the "problems of (the) section". It says:

The old Portuguese collection is stored in wall-built wooden cupboards which cover almost half the library. These books are rarely referred [to] by researchers as well as by general readers. As there is [a] space problem in all sections, cupboards and racks from all sections are moved towards this wall collection and hence these cupboards cannot be opened easily for tracing the books and cleaning. These are not cleaned for [the] last five years. Preservation of old newspapers and other rare books is to be done.... Digitisation of old newspapers and other old books is to be done....

In the world of book publishing, only a few titles could be published in Portuguese in recent years. This is true even though the recent normalisation of ties after 1974 has seen a small relaunch of Portuguese-language publishing in Goa, especially after the mid-1990s. But obviously, the number of readers for this language is now highly limited locally. Post-1961, it was English and Marathi that remained the written languages for the local populace to express itself. Konkani,

supported by official grants and awards, did generate a body of work; this tends to be impressive in numerical terms, even if it often focusses on creative writing and less on non-fiction and is not as visible in the market. Meanwhile, the printers and the limited number of publishing houses active in the region also underwent changes. The old gave way to the new, as we have seen.

Below is a list of books, published in Goa in the Portuguese language. Based on the availability of information, it covers the period from 1975 onwards. Information for some years is not available.

Table 6	List of books published in Portuguese in recent years
Year	Publication
1975	Souvenir de commemoração do primeiro centenario do falicimento de Francisco Luís Gomes. (Biography). Margão.
1976	-
1977	<i>Goa – Notas Historicas – Vol. I.</i> António de Meneses. Pangim, Atraves dos seculos. History. 56 p. <i>Nas margens do Mandovi.</i> Eduardo de Souza. Bastora, Tip. Rangel, 1977, 152 pp.
1978	[Not available]
1979	—
1980	<i>Os Contrastes</i> . Fiction, Diogo Pires de Melo. Panjim, 48 pp, Rs. 6, Tipografia Esmeralda
1981	[Not available]
1982	—
1983	—
1984	[Not available]
1985	<i>Roteiro – Ineditos e espargo</i> , Pedro Lobo. Tip. Rangel, 1984. 454 pp. Collected works.

1986	Contos Que O Vento Levou, Eduardo de Sousa. Short stories. Tip.
	Rangel, 104 pp. 1985.
1987	Contos Regionais. Augusto do R. Rodrigues. Short stories. Tip.
	Rangel, 1987, 166 pp.
1988	_
1989	Deus e Religão. Emanuel E. de Sevilha Sousa. Religion. Tip. Rangel,
	55 pp., 1989.
1990	_
1991	[Not available]
1992	[Not available]
1993	[Not available]
1994	[Not available]
	A Influencia da India na Arte Manuelina, Tome I. Arte Portuguesa.
1995	Carmo Azavedo. (Art History). 39 pp.+xvi plates. Rajhauns Offset.
1995	Tagore Gitanjali. Aureo de Quadros, translator. Poetry. Rajhauns
	Vitaran, 1996, 112 pp.
1996	[Not available]
	Colectanea de Escritos do Doutor António Colaço (1898-1983).
1997	Collected Works. António Colaço. Bangalore, L.V. Coutinho, 1988.
	175 pp. St Paul Press, Panjim.
1998	
1999	_
2000	_
2001	_
2002	[Not available]
2002	Onde o Moruoni Canta: Contos Goeses. Alberto Noronha. Third
2003	Millennium. 2003. 179 pp. Short stories.

Spoken Portuguese. A self-learning guide. Edward de Lima. Vikram
Publications. 2004. 84 pp.
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<i>De Goa a Ceilao</i> . Pedro Correia Afonso. Third Millennium. 2006.
Short stories.
Vivencias Partilhadas. Maria Elsa da Rocha. Third Millennium. 2005.
148 pp. Short stories.
Gramatica Activa I. Olga Mata Coimbra. Third Millennium, 2007.
129 pp. Grammar.
Episodio Oriental. Maria Ines Figueira and Oscar Noronha, eds.
Third Millennium, 2007. 176 pp.
Por alem do alem. Agostinho Fernandes. Third Millennium, 2007.
202 pp. Fiction.
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Rajhauns HSSC Preparatory 2011. Rajhauns SSC Preparatory 2011.
Rajhauns SSC Preparatory 2007.
<i>Literatura Goesa</i> . Eufemiano de Jesus Miranda. Goa,1556. 2012.

Even if only a few books meanwhile come out in Portuguese in recent times, that language is not irrelevant to Goa even today. Much of Goa's history is still ensconced in that language. So are some of the State's laws and the civil code. Crucial twentieth-century issues, debates and ideas are expressed within the pages of Portuguese language newspapers in Goa. These are falling victim to both poor storage and the loss of Portuguese language skills in the region with every passing day.

Portuguese is taught in schools in Goa, but only among a small section.

Occasional events like a Portuguese language day are organised in some colleges and schools. Smt. Parvatibai Chowgule College of Arts and Science also runs a Centre for Portuguese Language and Culture, while Rosary College at Navelim since 2017 maintains a Brazilian cultural centre at Navelim.

Correia da Silva has described Portuguese writing in Goa thus:

Goan fiction [in the Portuguese language], without ever truly claiming to be a flag of resistance to Portuguese colonialism, as with other Lusophone literatures, is predominated by local life, daily traditions and customs, as well as brushstrokes of acute social satire and unmistakable expressions of cultural dialogue and syncretism, the result of the harmonious relationship between the various Goan religious communities. The nineteenth century was marked by the *romance-tese* or thesis novel *Os Brâmanes* or The Brahmins of Francisco Luís Gomes. Although inserted in a late romanticism, the work still seems to echo the voice of the heralds of the first generation romantics, Garrett and Herculano, in defense of the ideas of social justice and liberalism; and the novel *Jacob e Dulce (Cenas da Vida Indiana)* or *Jacob and Dulce* (Scenes of Indian Life), by Francisco João da Costa. Both are, still today, part of the school curriculum.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Goan literature in Portuguese reached its golden period. To the sublime lyrical expression of Paulino Dias' verses, Adeodato Barreto, Nascimento Mendonça, Laxmanrao Sardessai, R.V. Pandit or Vimala Devi, joins the superb prose of the *Contos Regionais* or Regional Tales of José da Silva Coelho, published in *O Heraldo* in 1922, the novel *Bodki* by Agostinho Fernandes and, why not, the various works of Orlando da Costa, who did all his schooling in Goa, completing the seventh year of the Lyceum at the Afonso de Albuquerque High School in Pangim and Loyola High School from Margão.("Text...", translated)

Correia da Silva has pointed to some unfinished tasks in the field of Portuguese writing in Goa:

Goan literature in Portuguese seems to have been born to live in restricted social circles. Posted in almanacs, yearbooks, but above all in magazines and newspapers, only very late, and after 1961, it begins to emerge in select and literary anthologies.

It is important to preserve this rich and diverse literary and cultural legacy, still unknown in many quadrants of the Lusophone space. A translation of these authors, a collection of their texts in anthologies, including Ananta Rau Sar Dessai's famous radio plays, and above all a critical edition of his works, will allow them to be rescued from the memory chest, integrating them into the new school curricula of Portuguese studies in India, and Goa in particular. ("Text…", translated)

Goa's case contrasts, in some ways, with that in other former Portuguese colonies. Describing the situation of the spread of the Portuguese language in Brazil, Luciane Cristina Scarato in her 2016 thesis calls the expansion of Portuguese in Brazil "as much a result of state intervention as it was of individual agency." She sees language as "a mechanism of power that opened possibilities in a society where ethnic, religious, and economic criteria usually marginalised the vast majority of the population from the colonial system." She has noted that even basic literacy skills offered access to some jobs in administration, trading, teaching, and priesthood "that elevated people's social standing". This led to "the desire to emulate the elites and to appropriate the Portuguese language as part of their identity" (1).

In Goa, the reality has been different. Explaining his understanding of the Portuguese language in post-1961 Goa, Melo e Castro cites Janet Rubinoff, who sees language, even Lusitanization, in Goa, as "a veneer applied onto the more

fundamental local identities of caste and lineage, most significant to rural society and political organization" (169). Melo e Castro has argued that this "postulate" suggests the Goan writer in Portuguese, when writing about the changing situation, was not decrying so much the "de-lusitanization of Goan society" as the "undermining of an old hierarchy based on the primacy of notions of innate superiority dressed in the outer trappings of colonial culture."

There were other changes taking place in colonial Goa too. Noted Goan parasitologist Dr Froilano de Melo is quoted as having "provided detailed statistics of the English schools growing in Goa while the Lyceum languished! He listed 63 private English schools in Goa employing 389 local teachers and 71 foreigners. They had a total of 8890 pupils, 22 times the number of those who attended the Portuguese lyceum!" (Souza 34)

In the aftermath of Portuguese rule in Goa, there were vast changes that came about in the field of publishing here. Besides the shifts at the level of language, there was also turmoil in the market. Old publishers gave way to new, rising classes gained ascendancy in the world of publishing, in both books and newspapers. It was not a coincidence that two of the papers started almost immediately after the end of Portuguese rule in Goa were the then mining-connected Marathi-daily *Gomantak* and the English-language newspaper *The Navhind Times*. Not long after, in September 1964, the *Rashtramath*, another Margão-based Marathi newspaper was launched; it subsequently closed operations in 2004.

Since the 1960s, and particularly after the growth of the Marathi press in Goa, new space for expression arose in the world of Marathi. This was true in the 1960s, when the *Gomantak* and the *Navprabha* newspapers were started, and in the 1980s, when the *Tarun Bharat* which was published from Belgaum came out with its Goa edition, and also post-1990s when many other newspapers from neighbouring Maharashtra opened 'Goa editions' of their newspapers. Konkani got some scope with the birth of the *Sunaparant* in 1987 (MediaNews4U) and

Bhangarbuim, in June 2016, though the pressures on newspapers in the Devanagari script of this language have also been obvious. *Sunaparant* closed down in 2015 while *Bhangarbuim* is yet to build a significant circulation. Both Marathi and Konkani segments opened up special festival bumper issues, called *aanks* in the local language, for festivals such as Ganesh Chaturthi, Diwali, etc. The Roman-script Konkani periodicals, such as *Gulab* or the weekly newspaper *Ixtt*, though struggling against the odds to maintain circulation and readership due to the shifting nature of readerships in Goa, lacked such a tradition.

Where the festival supplements or *aanks* existed, these opened space for literary creativity. These annual, festival-time issues devoted largely to creative writing, follows a tradition from nearby Maharashtra. The Goa editions have a smaller page-count than their Maharashtra counterparts but open up vital space for self-expression. Prabhudesai says that monthly magazines in Goa, in Marathi and sometimes Konkani, have published Diwali *aanks*. Others that have been produced, he lists, include *Konkani* of the Konkani Bhasha Mandal, *Jait* by Bhiku Bomi Naik, *Konkanichem Kullar* by Anand Mangesh Naik and *Chitrangi* by Hema Naik and Chovoth by the *Sunaparant* newspaper, which closed operations in June 2015.

Konkani, diverse scripts, local languages

The above discussion focuses on the period under study, in the twentieth century. But choices over language it has used have also had its impact in various other periods of Goa's history. Earlier too, Goa has seen many switches in the languages used over history. Goykānaḍī, also known as Kandavī, now an extinct script, was used to write Konkani or Marathi and used by Saraswat trading and Daivajna families centuries ago. Goykānaḍī, along with the Modi script, was used for maintaining accounts. Modi was used for Marathi till the twentieth century, or the 1930s, till replaced by the Balbodhi style of Devnagari script as the standard writing and printing system for Marathi (Sayed "Decoding

the Modi Script"). The Modi script has been used for other languages too, such as Kannada, Gujarati, Hindi, Tamil, even Urdu. The Kadamba script, or the Pre-Old Kannada script, and Old Kannada or "Halekannada" alphabet have also been used in Goa. The Kadamba script, a descendant of Brahmi script and visually close to the Kalinga alphabet, grew during the Kadamba dynasty reign, from the fourth to the sixth century (Ancient Scripts: Kadamba). It later got well used in what is today Goa, and was used to write languages such as Sanskrit, Kannada, Konkani and Marathi (Ancient Scripts).

Goa has been grappling to adequately understand its linguistic past for some time now. In 1933, Henry Heras, SJ, the Jesuit priest-historian, appreciated the find by Pissurlencar of copper plates, suggesting the "script is Brahmi, but of [the] late period that shows the transition to the Hale Kannada (Old Kanarese). It may therefore be a set of plates of the early Kadambas of Banavasi, or of the early Chalukyas of Badami, or of the Mauryas of Konkan, of whom no inscription is known as yet." (42)

The narration of the history of language in Goa usually begins with a mention of Konkani in the region (Naik "Konkani Scams"). However, while Konkani is acknowledged to be an 'Indo-Aryan' language, there is no record or discussion about the pre-'Aryan' languages that would have obviously been prevalent among the aboriginal communities of Goa.

Following this, the discussion often moves towards the early encounter with Konkani by the Portuguese. Colonial rule is often held responsible for the destruction of Konkani; but the colonial relationship with Konkani was not static, linear and moving in a consistent or unchanging direction. . Some facts point in a different direction. For instance, foreign linguists have played a significant role in building grammars and dictionaries for local languages, including Konkani. Ironically enough, over time, quite a few centuries-old documents, which were not preserved in Goa itself, were located in a good condition in libraries in Portugal. Paul Fernandes quotes Konkani researcher

Tensing Rodrigues having said, "It is an irony of history that the conquerors should capture and preserve in its pristine integrity the very language that they attempted to destroy." Zwartjes (48) has offered a hint of scepticism to what is today seen here as the fate of Konkani. He has written: "No trace has been found of an *alleged* earlier literature, since it was *supposedly* destroyed by the Inquisition." [Emphasis added.]

As recently as in November 2019, former Dhempe College lecturer of the 1960s and earlier US-based university professor Rocky V. Miranda released the first volume of The Old Konkani Bharata in November 2019 at Panjim (Monteiro, "Resurrecting Goa's very own epic") As per current perspectives, is believed to have been narrated by Konkani speakers to Portuguese missionaries, who converted it into manuscript copies. Fernandes has noted that the "flourishing language had its literature, either oral or partly written on palm leaves, cloth, copper plate and stone before the advent of the Portuguese in 1510." It is thought that the language of the locals could have existed in a script referred to as Canarim, possibly Hale-Kannada or Kandevi. It was found only after the mid-twentieth century in the University of Minho in Braga, Portugal. These texts were either located, studied or copied and brought back to Goa by scholars Marian Saldanha, Fr Antonio Pereira, and Dr Jose Pereira. Miranda has compared this local rendering with the Sanskrit Mahabharata and Vishnudas Nama's Marathi Bharata (R. V. Miranda). Three codices or manuscripts — 773 in Marathi, 771 of the Mahabharata and 772 of the Ramayana in Konkani — were preserved in the library of Braga, Portugal. Only in 1950 did the Sanskrit scholar Mariano Saldanha discover them. Anant Kakba Priolkar secured a copy of Shri *Krishna Charitra*, some 130 pages of codex 773, believed to have been written by Krishna Das Shama; while archivist Pissurlenkar copied in hand what could be one of Shama's poem. After Jose Pereira referred to the Braga documents, the Portuguese professor and scholar of Konkani Lourdino A. Rodrigues, managed to get copies of both codices in the 1980s. He edited and published what he

called the *Adi Parva*, the first of 18 books of the epic in the Roman script. This was published by the Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr in Devanagri.

Besides this, some old texts in languages like Konkani or Marathi were rediscovered after centuries, often in some library in Portugal or elsewhere, due to the initiatives taken by some missionary or colonial administrator of another century. While it might seem politically incorrect to credit the colonial ruler or his allies with promoting the local language, at certain points of history that is exactly what seems to have happened in Goa. In the 1850s as well, the Portuguese chief secretary of Goa, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, was known to have promoted the growth of, and pride in, learning Konkani among the young generation of the time. By this time, the elites in Goa are known to have shifted to languages such as Portuguese, English and Marathi, as the tools for expression, study and discourse. Later, migration to regions like Bombay led to an unexpected revival of the Konkani language and growth of culture there. This time, the 'Renaissance' was not just restricted to a narrow section of elites, but among a much larger group, including the subaltern migrant. Subsequently, the politics of language kicked into play, with diverse forces rising.

In the 1930s, a movement led ideologically by Shennoy Goembab would continue to have a huge impact on Goa's linguistic future for decades to come. Nearby, Maharashtra's rising regionalism and 'sub-nationalism' over the formation of the State could be seen as one factor which shaped the growth of Marathi schools in Goa and led by a wider pro-Maharashtra sentiment here. But there were other factors coming in from both the pre-1961 and post-1961 periods. This includes post-1961's first ruling party, named significantly the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party, which won the first elections in 1963 and dominated local politics till 1979 (Joshi). Its name translates as the 'pro-Maharashtra Goan Party'. Subsequent history led to a spurt in the growth of Konkani, particularly after the passing of the Official Language Act in 1987. This gave a fillip for awhile to the use of officially-accepted Devanagari-script

Konkani, and Marathi. By the early 1990s, however, there was a severe rupture (Pratap Naik "Marathicized Konknni") within the Konkani camp. Protagonists of the Roman-script Konkani network alleged that there had been discrimination against them and a lack of official support for work produced in that script, which had been in use for centuries and was also popular among readers. See Jason Keith Fernandes' thesis dealing with this and related issues. This divide subsequently resulted in resisting what were seen as attempts to impose Devanagari Konkani as the medium of instruction in local primary schools (Noronha "Of forked tongues"). Middle, secondary, higher secondary and college education was, and continues to be, offered almost entirely through the English medium. However, at the primary level, what started as a dispute over teachers' salaries was converted into a drive to the near-compulsory use of Devanagari Konkani and Marathi for education in primary schools (Noronha "Of Forked Tongues....").

Significantly, the granting of Official Language status to Devanagari Konkani, and a somewhat disputed status to Marathi, saw an excessive dependence on government funding and official support by these languages or scripts (TNN. "GKA Officials Resign"; "Goa Marathi Akademy."; "Govt Pens New Script..."; TNN. "Storm Brewing"). This led to problems of its own.

The issue of script in Maharashtra is particularly noteworthy, as the developments which led to the "demise of the Modi script" (Sohoni 1) closely parallels the discourse which affected Roman Script Konkani in Goa.

Sohoni has narrated how printing pushed Marathi into accepting a single script. Relevant to the Goa debate, it has been noted how "Issues of region, caste, class, and religion—the core of today's identity politics—were all embroiled in this debate, as were both the British colonial and Indian nationalist governments" (1). Sohoni has also noted:

In just 150 years, Balbodh (a variant of Devanagari) emerged as the sole script for the Marathi language. At least three different arguments

were used to dismiss the Modi script. The first was about printing types and the legibility and economy of Devanagari. By the end of the nineteenth century, the social empowerment of the literati and administrative convenience were the reasons given for abolishing Modi. In the twentieth century, British resistance to nationalist efforts in western India, and then a fear of regionalism under the new nationalist independent republic, ensured that a single script able to be used for both Hindi and Sanskrit would be officially sanctioned for Marathi.

In the early part of the twentieth century, Konkani was rarely considered to be the main language for literary expression, or even to be given prominence by most. Aleixo Manuel da Costa, who compiled the monumental *Dicionário de Literatura Goesa* in four volumes, including one posthumous, tags the few Konkani protagonists of the time as *concanófilo*, or a Konkani-phile (I 137) or *Concanista* meaning Konkan-ist (I 385, and elsewhere).

Konkani usage has recently also got a fillip from sections of the diaspora in unexpected ways. Goans in Canada, for instance, set up a weekly two-hour radio programme called Radio Mango, in Toronto. This initiative saw expats talk and share music with the Konkani speaking world. The name of Radio Mango was meant to reflect the participation of both *Man*galorean and *Go*an Konkani speakers. By October 2018, this venture, however, had switched to an online format, and was available only on cyberspace via radiomango.ca. In December 2018, its demise was reported ("Welcome to Radio Mango..."). This came about apparently due to difficulties in sustaining the community radio broadcasts financially.

The role of Marathi

The fate of Marathi in Goa waxed and waned, particularly in the post-1961 era. Before that, it was the language accepted by a section of the subaltern, the

language of protest, and a minority tongue in a setting dominated by the Portuguese language at the official level and a Konkani that gained a boost on being promoted by individuals such as J. Cunha Rivara and Varde Valaulikar, better known as *Shenoi Goembab*. The archivist and historian Panduranga S.S. Pissurlencar was among those who held the view that Marathi was the literary language of the people of Goa, with Konkani as its spoken language. In 1956, he argued that there was "no Konkani literature before the seventeenth century. The Portuguese had destroyed in the sixteenth century the then-existing works in Marathi and Sanskrit" (Pissurlencar "A Proposito" 47). One needs to keep in mind that this was stated at a time when British rule had already ended over India, and language politics were already quite intensely developed in the neighbouring state of Maharashtra.

Marathi began to play more of an important role, particularly after the 1920s, when the demographic shift in Goa, initially caused due to heavy out-migration among the Catholic population, saw the Hindu community become numerically larger than the Catholic in Goa sometime around the mid-1920s. Together with this were other factors such as the rise of the Marathi linguistic identity, language fundamentalism and the growth of linguistic states in India especially around the 1940s and 1950s, as noted.

Post-1961, Marathi got an initial fillip through the growth of daily newspapers in that language, supported by the political state and also a section of the local industry particularly comprising the then influential mining sector. In the educational field, the first post-1961 Government of Goa, Daman and Diu, led by the pro-merger mine-owner politician Dayanand Bandodkar, also gave a fillip to Marathi education, especially in networks of new government-run schools being set up then at the primary level. Marathi in Goa gained popularity and support in the 1980s, when the deeply polarising Konkani-versus-Marathi language controversy, fuelled also by politics and the need to boost local newspaper circulations, revived support in that language. However, half-a-decade later, and even after the passing of the Official Language Act, both Konkani and Marathi seemed pressured enough to decide to sink differences, join their antagonistic causes and take on English language education in government-funded primary schools, as mentioned above. Later, the government faced criticism for handing over Marathi schools to politically-linked private/non-profit players (Noronha "Questionable Initiatives").

Setting the context across a wide time frame, Caroline Menezes points to the pressure on Konkani from colonial rule and says it "lost its status" due to a range of factors: the rule of Tipu Sultan, the British occupation of Goa which offered an escape route by way of migration on the English-dominated world, the adoption of Marathi as a formal and literary language by Goan Hindu migrants to Maharashtra, English becoming the language of work and official language, Portuguese and Marathi becoming familial languages, and Konkani related to poor and low classes, among other reasons.

Along the way, other changes in the situation have taken place. There were a growing number of publications in Marathi, especially as the century progressed. A comprehensive listing of Marathi books published in Goa is by librarian Milind Mhamal, formerly at Fr Agnel's College in Pilar, and subsequently at the Goa University. It covers the period from early times upto 2012.

English in contemporary Goa

Unlike the rest of South Asia, the British have not directly ruled over Goa. So one would have not expected the language to be so dominant here today. However, it entered via another route – that of migration. Returned expatriate writer J.B. Pinto stressed that Goa's links with the English language are connected to the growth of out-migration, following the British presence in Goa during the Napoleonic Wars (*Goan Emigration* 2019 9), and later with the growth

of English-language education in Goa (10, 30). Pinto was himself a returned East Africa civil servant based in Saligão who wrote one of the early books on Goan migration in the English language in 1962. He has noted that the British stationed their naval fleet in Goa in 1799 after it was "rumoured... at that time that Tipu Sultan had invited the French to drive out the British from the Indian soil by way of Goa" (9). He writes:

When the British Fleet was withdrawn from Goa after a few years and spread out to Bombay, Karachi, Madras, Calcutta, Ceylon, Rangoon, Singapore, etc., Goans followed them at all these places and made the best of these opportunities by educating their children in the English language and getting them employed in the then British Indian Government service, Royal Indian Marine, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, commercial firms, factories, etc. (10)

English-medium education had already been growing in Goa during the twilight years of the Portuguese rule itself, since the 1940s, and in some cases, from the start of the twentieth century. It played the role of preparing Goans for migration to British India and other parts of the English-speaking world, including East Africa (Newman *Of Umbrellas*... 16-17). In the mid-1990s, some prominent English-medium Goan schools celebrated their golden, or fiftieth, anniversary. These included institutions such as St Britto at Mapusa; Loyola at Margão; Mary Immaculate at Panjim; St. Anthony's atop Guirim (D'Silva 134) and Don Bosco at Panjim. Half-a-century earlier, around 1946, the Portuguese government of Goa was showing signs of having a rethink on the linguistic front. It recognised new trends in the region, such as Indian Independence and the growing migration of Goans to the East African colonies, and had relenting over its policy of promoting Portuguese exclusively as the language of higher education in Goa. A small number of English schools had been set up even earlier, such as St Joseph's, Arpora (launched in 1887) and Mater Dei, Saligão

(1909).

Pendse has explained the situation thus:

One of the reasons is the fact that English remained a major language of intellectual pursuits and governmental affairs in the Bombay Presidency. The Goan migrant diaspora had to learn English in order to succeed. Publishing in English could also indicate the diversification of the audience for these titles. Also, generations of Indo-Portuguese, who might have grown up in Bombay, perhaps did not possess adequate knowledge of Portuguese and thus there was a need for the English language section. (94)

Quite a few changes have taken place in recent decades. There has been a demise of more than just newspapers of the *Ancien Régime* in Goa. Language skills and interest levels have also changed. The last six decades or so have seen a switchover to languages like English, Marathi and Konkani. This led to some unusual results, which have been studied in Goa and the region beyond. Dennis Kurzon has analysed, in *Where East Looks West: Success in English in Goa and on the Konkan Coast*, the reasons for the "constant success" of Konkani speakers in Goa and regions to the south of Goa in the TOEFL. The Test of English as a Foreign Language is a standardised test that is used to measure the English language ability of non-native speakers who seek to enrol in English-speaking universities.

It might be inappropriate to discuss the shifting language situation in Goa, without attempting an understanding of the current Goan writing in English, referred to as GwE, here. Goan writing in English is the almost illegitimate child of twentieth-century Goa; at the same time, it is also considered very influential. It has been sired by the accidents of history, the geography of migration, the vicissitudes of Goa's economy, the changing nature of global geopolitics, and the global power of English, all combining in the spurt of a language that was earlier

wholly unconnected with Goa. Creative and other expressions in this language are still to get its due place in a Goa even though virtually every student currently learns through the English medium after their primary school level. At present, many challenges face English's attempts to grow into a language that can adequately echo Goan life and thought. Certain dilemmas facing Goan writing in English, or GwE, are as follows:

- *The dilemma of definition, inclusion or exclusion:* Goan writing in English faces questions of definition. At a discussion on Goan writing in English, the novelist, former journalist and musicologist Victor Rangel-Ribeiro (2010) sought to provoke discussion by raising a fundamental question of definition. He asked: "How would you define a Goan writer? Someone born in Goa? A writer of Goan descent, born anywhere in the world? A writer of Goan descent, domiciled anywhere in the world? A writer of Goan descent, who writes about Goa? A writer of whatever ancestry, domiciled in Goa? A writer of Goan descent or domicile, who writes about Goa sympathetically? A writer of Goan descent, even if he denies or ignores his Goan roots?" The answer could range from being choosy to opting for an unhesitating all-of-the-above. Today, as distances shrink because of globalisation and cyberspace, the work of creative and other writers, linked to Goa in any of the above ways, from across the world, tends to be speedily noticed back home, and sometimes influence the local debate, unlike in the past.
- *The 'does-it-exist?' dilemma:* Even in recent times, there has been a debate over whether the genre called "Goan writing" actually exists or not. Does it exist as a category, and should it be differentiated from other forms of writing or even pan-Indian writing? This debate has stayed on in some quarters, such as in discussions on the Goa-Book-Club, even though anthologies on Goan writing, both in English and in translation, have been around since the mid-1980s. The acceptance of categories such as Indian

writing in English or Trinidadian and Tobagonian writing would suggest that GwE is also entitled to be accepted, despite its relatively small size.

- *Dilemmas of access and understanding:* Goan writing in English still faces an insufficient understanding and awareness about the field itself, the potential it holds, awareness about the works created over time and space, and areas which hold special promise for research. This situation has changed somewhat in recent years. However, while some islands of awareness and deep interest do exist, even at the undergraduate level, the required awareness to understand Goan writing in English with sufficient critical mass is yet to be built. Sometimes, even merely gaining access to a text published in the past can be a challenge, for Goan writing in various languages, not just in English.
- *The dilemma of a lack of translation:* Goan writing in English cannot thrive in splendid isolation, or even sustain itself on its own. Nor can it claim to represent all, or even a significant part, of Goa's creative expression. This only underlines its need to work in collaboration with other languages. Goa University's growth and other developments in the past three-and-half decades have led to a growth in tandem with the skills in languages such as Hindi, Portuguese, Konkani and Marathi. It would be beneficial to launch and nurture a centre for translations, within the University or elsewhere, building both career avenues for young students and also tapping into the wider potential for Goan writing. Some languages in Goa have been functioning within virtual apartheid among themselves. For instance, Portuguese and Marathi would seldom be seen to overlap; at some point of time though, bilingual journals existed to include both these languages. This has happened because of technological, cultural and ideological reasons. Both languages required a different set of fonts. For much of the twentieth century, it would be then unlikely to find a person with skills in

both these languages simultaneously, and the languages were spoken by very different classes and geographies with only a little overlap. There are also chasms between other language pairs in Goa. For instance, Melo e Castro has pointed out that the "sizeable archive relating to Portuguese colonialism [that exists in Marathi and Konkani is] inaccessible to scholars lacking the requisite language skills". And, he wonders how "contemporary debates on the limits and formation of Goan society, history and identity would be re-configured if current actors had unfettered access to the full archive of textual material from the past in Portuguese, both literary and extra-literary" (*Woven Palms* 14)

- *The dilemma of being diaspora-driven:* GwE is also treated in a step-motherly manner partly because it has historically largely been produced by communities outside of Goa.
- *The perennial 'Goa book demand' dilemma:* This affects books from Goa in all languages. The 'Goan book dilemma' of the yesteryear continues to afflict the field even now. It plays out thus: books are barely known when they are first published, and by the time they get known and sought after, they are mostly out of print. This information gap helps neither the publisher, author nor reader, and needs to be somehow addressed.
- *The dilemma of improper (market-driven) definition:* With there being inadequate research in the field locally, Goan writing in English tends to get largely defined, and have its canon created, by international scholarship. To expect the field of Goan writing in English to be defined by universities in Michigan, Melbourne, Iowa, or Lisbon is unrealistic, if not inefficient and also fraught with its risks.
- *The dilemma of poor numbers:* Creating a sufficient number of students, researchers, academics and translators is still a major overdue task. This is felt also due to the small numbers of potential authors, critics, translators,

and readers in the field. Filling this gap is vital to build the broken links and allow for this field to grow to viable proportions.

- *The dilemma of a mismatch between supply and demand:* At present, resources exist and the availability is growing; but there are only a limited set of students willing to invest time, energy and their careers into the study of Goan writing in English. Goa's repeated linguistic changes over the last six and more decades make the task only tougher.
- *The English-as-untouchable dilemma:* Though less than in the past, English in Goa is often seen still as a 'foreign' language, despite its widespread deployment by diverse sectors of society for varied uses.
- *The dilemma of hierarchies.* Given the asymmetries of the market, it is to be only expected that the bigger publishing labels and those located closer to the 'mainstream' have an unfair advantage in setting the tone of the debate. The current situation is one where work produced locally in Goa itself is mostly treated as if coming from the periphery. This is true even for those studying Goa itself. It leads to an untenable and unhealthy situation, and there is a need to challenge attitudes towards publishing brands and geographies.
- *The dilemma of making GwE commercially viable and sustainable:* Here it is important to look beyond the number of books being published, and instead address the wider issues of sustainable and wider markets for Goan writing in English, the economics of the field, quality, and important related issues.
- *The dilemma of being a stranger in its own home:* Local newspapers review Goa-published books only fairly irregularly. Only a small number of Goa-related books, in any language, thus have the chance of getting noticed. This situating is slowly changing. But since the 1960s, when Goan

writing in English first began to be increasingly produced in Goa, apart from the diaspora, it has been rather inadequately discussed. In more recent times, a 'Goa book' release gets treated more like an 'event' and is given a 'Page 3' or glamour treatment. This means the focus goes more to the author or the book release function, often in photographs, rather than attention going to the ideas contained within the work.

How the languages compare in terms of books

Language-wise figures of books published recently might also be of relevance. Devanagari Konkani and Marathi titles have been receiving official grants for some time now, as discussed earlier in Chapter 2. In the twenty-first century, as discussed elsewhere the Directorate of Arts & Culture launched its scheme to promote the work of Goa-based authors and publishers ("Citizen's Charter"). This has helped to partly subsidise the publication costs. Upto Rs. 25,000 was offered as a grant. This amount could help in publishing books which otherwise might have been unviable. At the time of writing this thesis, in 2019, the scheme had been changed to offer a larger grant of up to Rs. 50,000 but only *after* a particular book *had already been published* (Sayed "Scheme"). Occasionally, the number of books published in a year has been inflated in particular languages, for instance in English, due to a large number of educational 'guides' or unofficial study aids published for students in that language. Below is a comparative list of books published across some recent years, giving language-wise figures:

Year ending	Konkani-Devanagari	Konkani-Roman	Marathi	English	Hindi	Portuguese	Comments
2011	109	17	141	361	25	3	Sanskrit 5; French
							12
2010	66	19	83	53	4		
2009	106	38	158	102	3	5	
2008	64	18	57	44	1	1	
2007	92	39	89	66	4	NA	
2006	97	50	74	NA	5	2	
2005	62	1	54	27	6		Kannada 01
2004	32	2	40	35		_	
2003	55	04	44	33	4	01	
2002	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
2001	28	2	21	26			Konkani Kannada
							Script 01
2000	25	2	23	25	1	NA	
1999	22	1	34	19	NA	2	

Table 7: Comparative list of books published, language-wise

Currently, Goa, on an average, produces roughly over a hundred books each year in each of the three major languages used for print communication here — Marathi, Konkani and English. Below, the table shows the number of titles deposited with the Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library in 2016, 2017 and 2018 under the Delivery of Books Act, 1954:

Language	2016	2017	2018
Konkani (Devanagari)	96	99	98
Konkani (Roman)	11	34	32
Marathi	122	135	170
English	120	119	101
Hindi	11	4	6
Portuguese	5	4	2
Sanskrit	4	2	2
French	1	2	2

Source: Goa Saunskritik 2019. Rajhauns. 2019. p.84

Making sense of the language puzzle

Multiple languages for different purposes: Goa has used multiple languages for different purposes. Decisions on language use have changed over time. Diverse languages have been used for the same purpose at different points in time. The medium of primary education in pre-1961 Goa was Portuguese and Marathi, and later shifted to Marathi and English; to Marathi and Konkani and English; to Devanagari Konkani and Marathi; and finally saw a largely market-driven push towards English. Besides, Goa appears to mix languages for diverse uses. Currently, Marathi and English are popular in the print media, and daily newspapers; Konkani plays only a marginal role in newspapers but has a strong presence in books. For religion, Konkani and English are deployed among Catholics; and Marathi or Sanskrit among Hindus. In the market place, the preferred language could be Hindi, Kannada, Marathi, Urdu or Hindustani in urban areas with considerable Konkani usage in rural Goa. In music and culture, Konkani dominates; Marathi, English and Hindi appeal to radio listeners and Westernised audiences as in the case of English.

But the politics of language in Goa is complex. As argued, it does not show up in a linear, unidirectional manner, and can cut in diverse ways, those using multiple languages. Lack of knowledge and information to access in diverse languages can also have its impact. Librarian Archana Kakodkar has argued for the need for a cooperative effort to build a Union Catalogue of "voiceless sources, available in the libraries and archives of Goa today" (395). Such a combined library catalogue which describes collections of some local libraries would "save time, money and energy of research scholars and will substantially boost research activity in Goa". She has noted that many primary sources in the libraries in Goa are in Portuguese. "Most scholars of history are not acquainted with this language," she has noted (394), in the context of the early 1980s. She also pointed out that besides Portuguese,

some of the sources are in Marathi, Modi, Konkani and Halakannada scripts. To do justice to the historiography of Goa one has to know all these languages and scripts. A single person having knowledge of all these languages and scripts at one time is very rare. (Kakodkar 394)

What language one reads in is also likely to shape one's world-view and understanding of the region. This is strongly true in a small but polarised area like Goa. For instance, Martin Page, a journalist and author though himself British, ended his book with a cautionary message for readers attempting to understand the Portuguese-influenced world through Anglophone perspectives. He wrote:

In drawing upon foreign – and particularly English – accounts of Portugal's history, I found, repeatedly, that caution is needed. Britain has claimed a vested interest in Portugal, almost since its foundation in the middle ages which has sometimes been in conflict with the well-being of the Portuguese themselves. This bias recurs in ways which are relatively obvious, from grossly exaggerating the role of Henrique the Navigator in the Portuguese discovery of a world beyond Europe, because he was half English, to suggesting that Britain

claimed southern Africa from the Portuguese, for the benefit of its inhabitants, rather than for Cecil Rhodes to acquire immense wealth. Other assertions, such as Livermore's, that Portugal has no natural frontiers with Spain – an obvious absurdity to anyone who has travelled along them – represent a view that implicitly challenges Portugal's right to independence (261).

Multilingualism in Goa: Goa is known for its high level of multilingualism. The impact of this could be seen either in the promotion of a variety of books in the market in diverse languages or scripts and also the fragmentation of the market by this process. Nagarajan quoting state-wise data from the Census 2011 on multilingualism and levels of education in India, has stated that

Goa has the highest proportion of both bilinguals and trilingual. Thus, over half the illiterate population is bilingual in Goa. This goes up to 97.5% for Goans who have completed graduation or higher degrees.

Dispute, conflict, harmony, tolerance: The dispute over the script to be used for Konkani, in the 1990s, which arose in fallout over the 'medium of instruction' conflict in Goa, can also be seen as a conflict for influence and power, not to mention awards, grants and recognition.

Desai has argued:

Language movements are organised to create awareness among language speakers and members of a language community regarding the need and importance of promoting or projecting language loyalty. This awareness can be brought about through periodicals and publications, cultural performances and literary programmes. Different language and literary associations act as agents of mobilisation and consolidation of a language community. This numerical strength is then used to demand certain status in education (elementary or further school system under government control), as

Official Language in administration (use in government offices, courts or legislature) or communication (broadcasting under state control or in government announcements and publications like Government Gazette) to the language concerned. In this way, a language community attempts to seek its share in socio-cultural and political life. Pressure groups operate in the name of the language community and put forth demands in terms of preferential treatment in recruitment for state employment, state support to publication activity or literary productions etc. All these are meant to create economic and political opportunities and resources for the language community.... While doing this language leadership mostly consisting of elites acquires for itself the role of mediator between the language community and the state power. Certain provisions and safeguards proposed for the language are in real effect meant to benefit the elite group or small section within the community. In this sense, language movement tends to be a discriminative device creating a privileged group that is able to make choices at the cost of others. (59-60)

The same is the case with the Konkani-versus-Marathi dispute in the mid-1980s (Row Kavi 11-15). In a short while, this morphed into a Konkani-**and**-Marathi-versus-English dispute by the 1990s.

But others like the Konkani short story writer Damodar Mauzo has interpreted the role of Konkani differently. Mauzo has argued:

Konkani literature, despite having a late start, has kept up the spirit of harmony and tolerance and thus helped to project Goa as a land of peace and unity. Sheela Kolambkar, who rose to fame with her unforgettable story *Guerra*, wrote passionately about the plight of a pregnant woman whose White paramour, a Portuguese soldier, has left the shores of Goa, leaving her behind to face the situation. *Paklo*, a

novella by Tukaram Shet, also objectively discusses the predicament of a young *mestiço*. But no one tried to take advantage of the situation to make things difficult for them. (34)

Yet, Mauzo has admitted that there can be conflict within the language itself. This has affected him too:

In Goa, a collection of Konkani poems, *Sudir Sukta* by Vishnu Surya Wagh, was challenged by some puritans as a work of profanity. When I wrote a story about beef-eating in a progressive Hindu family, I encountered many raised eyebrows. My novel *Karmelin* was stopped from being serialised in a periodical because some zealots felt that it was derogatory to the Catholic community of Goa.... (Mauzo 41-42)

The competitive, if not conflict-prone, nature of language in multilingual Goa also reflects itself in other, less noticeable ways. For instance, multiple names are deployed to refer to the same locality in guite a few parts of the State. The State capital is itself known by as many as five different names: Panaji, the current official version, possibly based on a peculiar rendering of the earlier Portuguese name; Pangim, used in Portuguese times; Panjim, which has wider acceptance among speakers of English; the earlier colonial capital's name of Nova Goa; and the word widely used by speakers of the local language, Ponn'je. Goa could also get rendered as Gova, Govem, Goem and Gomant or Gomantak. What used to be Mapuca in the pre-1961 era has morphed into Mapusa, Mhapsa, Mahapusa or Mapsa, reflecting the influences of varied language use. The local pronunciation differs from all these spellings. Other places with multiple linguistic-difference shaped names, some reflecting only a variation in spelling or pronunciation, include Aguada/Agvad, Altinho/Altin, Assagão/Asgany, Calangute/Kunn'gotti, Canacona/Kannkonn, Candolim/Kandolle, Cortalim/Kutt'tale, Curchorem/Kudchodem, Curbarjua/Kumbarjuvem, Quepem/Kepem, Chicalim/Chikli, Tiswadi/Ilhas (de Goa), Tiracol/Terekhol,

Bicholim/Dicholi, Divar/Diwaddi, Porvorim/Parvari, Pernem/Pedne, Ponda/Fonda, Mangueshi/Manguexim, Margão/Madgaon/Moddgaum, Mormugão/Marmagoa, among others.

Influences of other languages: Influences of the impact of other languages, and certain areas of Goa, are visible too. On the tourist belt, one can come across Goan taxi drivers wanting to learn the Russian language. Depending on the strength of the tourist season, books in non-English European languages can sometimes remain unsold on second-hand bookshelves, while finding it difficult to find buyers (Kapur).

Power, and institutions: Power associated with language is also reflected in the nature of some institutions in Goa, and the role they have played, including the language used, at different points of history. Among these could be the Instituto Vasco da Gama later renamed as Institute Menezes Braganza, the Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr, the Konkani Bhasha Mandal, schools' and colleges' choice of language offered to students, and the Goa Chambers of Commerce and Industry among others. IMB saw a change in its name but continued to have Portuguese as its working language and the language of its journal till at least till the 1980s (Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama). The TSKK started its activities in Konkani, first in the Devanagari script, and then, on finding it difficult to get a buy-in from its constituency primarily made up of Catholics, shifted to the Romi-script Konkani, from the 1980s (P. Naik "Marathicized Konknni"). The KBM traces its activities in Goa in part to the rise of a new sentiment over that language in the post-1961 era as well as the campaigning done over the previous decades. The Goa Chambers of Commerce and Industry earlier had its name as the Associação Comercial da Índia Portuguesa (GCCI).

Fast-changing realities: Much is made of the fact that after four-and-a-half centuries of ruling Goa, only a minuscule section of Goans claimed Portuguese to be their 'mother tongue'. But the 'politics of language'

that can sometimes be at play here also becomes clear from a closer look at the statistics. In 1950, statistics within Portuguese India showing the 'first language' depict the situation as follows. Out of a total population of 566,924, some 82.82% stated Konkani as their mother tongue, 4.96% said it was Marathi, only 1.19% termed it Portuguese, while just 0.06% (or 339 persons) gave it as English. Besides, there were as many as 63,041 or 11.11% of the population classified as 'unaccounted'. In the matter of a few decades, the population of Marathi and English speakers would grow manifold, in the first case, particularly after the polarising Konkani-versus-Marathi language disputes of the 1980s. Pendse notes that the Census "document does not take into consideration the population who spoke two or more languages at the same time" (61-62). He also adds: "It is unclear if this census included the population of Portuguese-speaking soldiers that were serving in Goa at the time" (61).

The politics of the book

From its first arrival in Goa, as is obvious from the manner in which the press came about here, the politics of the book in Goa was shaped by the politics of religion. For centuries, Portugal had a complex relationship with religion. Contrary to how that nation is often viewed in Goa today, as a theocracy and the centre of religious bias alone, Portugal had diverse and often conflicting equations with religion. Catholicism existed locally before Portugal was formed. Portugal's first king of Afonso Henriques, ruling between 1139 and 1185, accepted vassal state status from the Pope in return for papal recognition of the nation. Later, the Church helped Portugal to expel the 'Moors' from its southern regions and claimed vast lands as a privilege in exchange. In time, the Church's position declined in Portuguese society; but this changed with the overseas empire, and missionaries again became crucial agents of the state. Then, the mid-sixteenth century Inquisition, contrary to the dominant perception of it in Goa, was not aimed at converting people of other faiths into Catholicism but

rather to enforce the 'purity' of the Catholic faith itself. By the eighteenth century, sentiment against the Church grew again. Keeping with this trend, the Marquis de Pombal, who ruled from 1750 to 1777, expelled the powerful Catholic order of the Jesuits in 1759, cut relations with Rome and brought all education came under State control. Anti-clericalism dominated Portugal even after Pombal's ouster. By 1821, the Inquisition was abolished. Religious orders were banned, and the Church lost much of its property. By the second half of the nineteenth century, Church-State relations improved. But anti-clericalism emerged with the First Republic in 1910. Education was secularised, Church properties were seized. Steps brought about in this period included curbs on the pealing of church bells, disallowing a clerical garb to be worn on the streets, and bans on some religious festivals. The Republic was replaced by a conservative, Right-wing government which dominated Portugal for over four decades of the twentieth century, and till the end of Portuguese rule in Goa in 1961 (Portugal Religion). These trends are important to understand the influences on religion, and anti-religious perspectives, on the literature of the related periods, and also the wider complexities of colonial rule in Goa itself.

Books in Goa have played a political role at other points in history. Initially, the book had its purpose to be a tool to spread religion and religious ideology, a means to create language tools that would help attain either religious or political goals and even a route through which to convey across to Europe genetic and plant information that would be useful to that part of the globe. Unlike in Europe, the printing press did not play the role of creating a widespread information revolution in Goa. But it can also be said that the eventual role played by the book in Goa was not the same as what was originally intended.

The printed word in Goa also has other dimensions by way of its impact and power dynamics. Ernestine Carreira, a historian based in Aix, France, has offered other insights into books and publishing of that era. She has noted that

After the independence of Brazil (1822) and until the early years of the

Salazar government (in the 1930s), two groups of amateur historians were to keep the Goan press rolling, creating reviews and journals and publishing works of erudition. They were most certainly following British and metropolitan models. From the early nineteenth century, the Indian authorities had been favouring a policy of educating their future scholars locally on the European model, and then endorsing scholarly endeavours involving a romantic rediscovery of local culture, reconstructing historical memory as preserved in local archives and traditional memory. The Royal Asiatic Society (founded in Calcutta in 1784) was a prestigious model that Goa aimed to follow. (537)

Carreira has pointed out that in the first decades of the nineteenth century, "a high school, a school of medicine and an official press — the *Imprensa Nacional* — were founded, which in turn inspired a number of studies and publications."

She sees this as Lisbon's favouring of the local elite

who could successfully apply Westernised models of administration, knowledge and patronage, acknowledging their services with peerages, royal honours ... or with membership of learned societies in the metropolis. Such scholars drew attention to the fabulous archives documenting Goa's heritage and set about classifying, organising and sometimes publishing collections. (533-534).

High-ranking Portuguese officials, like the Secretary-General of the Governor-General of Goa Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, and the native Christian elite and Eurasians, such as Imprensa Nacional director Miguel Vicente de Abreu, 1827-1833, of Divar played an important role. Carreira describes Abreu as "a prolific author whose works covered issues such as the *Novas Conquistas*, the Padroado, the abolition of castes and class, and the development and teaching of Marathi" (539-540). Besides, there also were the

Gracias brothers from Loutolim who were the most prolific in the first three decades of the twentieth century: medico-civil servant-public library director-editor José António Ismael Gracias, 1857-1919, who got published some forty volumes on Goan history, administration and legislation; and director-of-finances João Baptista Amâncio Gracias, 1872-1950, who authored seven works mostly on finance and the history of medicine in Goa; and the doctor and author of seven works on the flora and fauna of Goa Caetano Xavier Gracias, 1865-1944. Social historian Alberto C. Germano da Silva, 1888-1967, a doctor by profession, devoted himself between the 1930s and the 1950s to composing a wide-ranging social history of Portuguese India.

But the process of authoring is loaded with its own biases. In Goa too, certain classes of works were treated differently from others, as noted above. Elite writing was received on a drastically different footing from the writing of subaltern authors, though the latter was far more popular, as noted in Chapter 3. All is not equal in an unfair world, in other ways too. For understandable if unjustified reasons, books brought out by big publishers still get an undue weightage in any study of Goan Writing in English. This is apparent when it comes to studies undertaken, especially from a distance, on the world of Goan writing. Larkosh, while discussing "twentieth-century Goan literature" discusses a rather unexpected range of works — Agualusa, George Coelho, Vimala Devi and Manuel de Seabra, Pundalik Naik's Acchev which became accessible to readers of English only after its translation by the Oxford University Press in India, Cleo Odzer's Goa Freaks, Fernao Mendes Pinto's seventeenth-century Peregrinacao, the Italian writer and academic who taught the Portuguese language António Tabucchi, and David Tomory who is known for his Hello Goodnight: A Life in Goa. The common thread between these works would perhaps be the ease of their availability in the international market. What books get noticed and discussed, it would appear, depends on what titles are easily available, especially internationally. This, in turn, would depend on where such

titles are published, and consequently what is the perceived 'importance' of a book judged according to the 'big names' behind its production. Some books and authors tend to be thus either promoted or invisibilised and relegated to insignificance.

Besides being overlooked or written out of the story, there are other challenges the writer in Goa faces, as elaborately explained by the Sahitya Akademi-award winner Pundalik Narayan Naik. A prominent writer whose work has been widely noticed in Goa, Naik has his own story about the crafting of his most noticed novel, and the aftermath ("Acchev: Its background..."). It has as its year of publication 1977 but emerged from the presses in 1978. Naik gained prominence nationally when his work Acchev became the "first Konkani novel to be translated into English" as The Upheaval, but only almost a quarter of a century after it was first written. Naik (9) mentions some negative feedback he received, at one stage, including a suggestion to "[i]mmerse this lot in the river that flows close by your house" (2) as his early poems were seemingly too influenced by the work of the prominent Konkani poet and littérateur ManoharRai SarDessai. Naik's story of his literary journey is marked by narratives of the difficulties he faced and the about-turns while getting his novel published, changes of in the story's name, economic challenges facing Konkani publishing, the low sales for Konkani books, the lack of book release functions and reviews, and his understanding of why the novel failed to win a national award in that year (2-9). Differences in dialects used in Konkani killed the chances of a possible translation into Hindi (9) and the book also suffered from a lack of readers when first published. Later, one writer referring to Naik's work questioned how "those curses and that foul language" from the text could be translated, Naik has suggested (10). Credit was wrongly claimed by a subsequent author for something Naik had already achieved too (10). Naik appears critical of some of the prominent Konkani writers for not having "ever expressed their views in print" (10). He also mentions the challenges to get the work translated

into English (10). "'No one told me that it was any good' was all I could say," he has commented (11). Naik adds, with a tinge of regret, if not bitterness: "*Acchev* seems to have come into the limelight today. It is being discussed and analysed, but one cannot deny that the book was ignored for a very long time" (11).

In contrast, a few other books have gone on to have a great run and influenced the debate significantly, right down to current times. One work that shaped the Goa debate, and still does in some ways, was on the Inquisition. Claudius Buchanan's early nineteenth century supposed encounter with this institution was published in multiple editions that came out in French in 1687; in 1688 in two editions, 1701, 1709, 1711, 1719 with two editions, and in 1724; in Dutch in 1688, 1697 and 1698; in English in 1688, 1732, 1750, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1815 two editions, and 1819; in German in 1688 and 1689; and Portuguese in 1866, published by the Imprensa Nacional at Nova Goa, the only account found in that language. It also had a 1907 work on it edited by António Baião, besides Anant Kakba Priolkar's The Goa Inquisition; being a quatercentenary commemoration study of the Inquisition in India, with accounts given by Dr Dellon and Dr Buchanan. Multiple editions of Priolkar's came out in the second half of the twentieth century and beyond, from 1961 onwards. These were published or printed by a prominent Bombay-based publisher, the University of Bombay Press, and a local publisher among others. On the other side of the debate, Joseph Gerson Da Cunha (1888) doubts the authenticity of the account of Dellon, claiming it was forged by someone other than Dellon (Scholberg Bibliography 303-306).

Books have shaped our reality, our politics and our understanding of the past, and the debate over the Inquisition in Goa, and accounts of the same, is a prominent case in point. In 1932, the Bombay-based historian G.M. Moraes wrote to his Goa-based archivist-historian counterpart Pissurlencar and said:

I could not find any reference in the letter of St. Francis Xavier to the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa. That was the reason I was

silent on the point so long. (41)

This issue would go on to become a major debating point on the religious history of Goa for decades to come.

The role of some books in shaping the debate is easy to appreciate. Books have been written to challenge other books, prove their assumptions wrong, or at least debate issues raised. For instance, Narayan Dattatreya Verencar's *Gomantakiya Bráhmanetara he sarva śúdra áheta káya*? was a reply to Pissulencar's *Os Chardes nao sao surdos*? (Scholberg *Bibliography* 314) Likewise, Jivottama Raya Khota's *Dambhsphota*, published in 1971, was a reply to Rajaram Rangoji Painginkar's book *Mee Konn*? (Scholberg *Bibliography* 117), the autobiography of the social worker and Goan mine-owner, which focuses on the social life and the sexual exploitation of the Devadasi community.

Some books published on Goa have significantly shaped the public debate, and have had political outcomes, here. These include colonial history texts that shaped understandings of Goa under Portuguese rule; Gomes Pereira's *Goa: Hindu temples and deities* which alludes to inter-religious strife in colonial Goa; work on the Goa Inquisition republished on more than one occasion; texts written during the Republican era focussing on inter-community relations in colonial times; *India's First Democratic Revolution: Dayanand Bandodkar and the Rise of the Bahujan in Goa.* by Parag Porobo, which sets the tone for evaluating Goa's first post-1961 winning politicians; and in the twenty-first century, journalist-author-politician Vishnu Wagh's *Sudirsukt* as its verse mentions some touchy caste issues.

Books are seen as having played a political role in other contexts too. Historian Teotonio R. de Souza has pointed to Priolkar's "controversial suggestion" in the latter's translation of Cunha Rivara's work and compared it to "throwing a cat among the pigeons, [by] referring to the Chardo caste of Goa as a Catholic version of the Brahmin subcaste of Karadhe in the Maharashtra-Karnataka region" (Souza "Uneasy Lies"). Souza has also viewed Cunha Rivara's writing on the Pinto 'Conspiracy' as a possible part of a wider agenda. Souza has commented: "I am inclined to see Cunha Rivara's account of the Pinto Conspiracy as a British-inspired reading aimed at driving a wedge between Tipu [Sultan] and the French.... Cunha Rivara's research and conclusions about the 1787 event were certainly influenced by his political worries of 1857" ("Uneasy Lies"). These events in history have had a significant impact on Goa in varying ways, and also shaped subsequent developments.

At times, a book created out of Goa can be either not visible or wholly misunderstood. For instance, a prominent guide to the Goan environment, called *Fish, Curry and Rice: A Citizen's Report on the Goan Environment*, has been listed in Google Scholar as a book authored by C. Fish and called *Rice: A Citizen's Report on the Goan Environment*.

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Figure 3: Google Scholar entry of a Goa book.

Texts have sometimes made readers feel that they have been written out of a particular story. Clifford J. Pereira's review of *The In-Between World of Vikram Lall* has criticised author Vassanji for having focussed insufficiently on the East African Goan community. The writing of Nirad Chaudhuri on Goa in his book of essays *Continent of Circe* of 1965 sufficiently infuriated Robert de Souza to cause him to respond with a book-length reply, *Goa and the Continent of* *Circe,* critiquing what he sees as the misrepresentation and negative stereotyping of Goa and the Goan in Chaudhuri's earlier work.

Likewise, a case could be made that even among the diverse languages used by Goans to express their thoughts and feelings, there exists a hierarchy of languages. Regional languages draw State support and are locally influential, but feel discriminated against when it comes to dealing with the outside world or when wider and multilingual literary events are staged. English is dis-empowered back home but disproportionately privileged in diasporic writing, the local bureaucracy, the administration of justice or higher education.

Sometimes, the power play over the printed word emerges in unusual ways. Arondekar and Arthur question narratives of colonial exploitation in Goa, labelling these "*savarna* narratives, including historiography, have tended to demonise colonialism even as they seem to have benefited the most from the colonial machinery" ("Complex Genealogies"). Arthur has argued that the Gomant Maratha Samaj "directly benefited from the patronage of the Portuguese state that provided them with funds to build schools, libraries and more."

Language has also been a tool to preserve power and privilege in Goa. A Portuguese speaker (Interview) from the earlier elite dismissed recent attempts to learn Portuguese in Goa, by saying the speakers of that language who learnt it recently only spoke it poorly. Likewise, many reasons have been attributed to the lack of popularity of Devanagari Konkani (M. Nagvenkar). Yet, one of the reasons for the demise of publications like *Sunaparanta* is sometimes seen here as the complex and difficult-to-follow language it used.

The issue of script and dialect can turn rather polemical. For instance, within the migrated-out-of-Goa community of Konkani speakers in coastal Karnataka, there are dialect-based differences. The divide is along communal, or religious lines, among others. Karthik Malli, an independent researcher into historical and comparative linguistics, says Konkani speaking friends from coastal Karnataka would explain the Hindu-Catholic dialectical differences as stemming from either the different period in which they migrated, with Hindus moving out some 500 years back and Catholics some 300 years ago, or due to the different regions of Goa they came from. The first shaped the way local languages like Kannada influenced their Konkani, while the latter meant the migrants brought different styles of reading and writing with them. Understanding Goa's out-migration traditions are often tied up to a mix of history, Black Legend, myths and beliefs. The post-1961 nationalistic lens through which it is often viewed has also shaped understanding. Motives for which migration took place out of Goa are complex, often economic in nature and diverse, not just the Inquisition or religious persecution (Alan Machado 91-107). Dialect-based differences possibly grew out of each group or community plugging into particular literary traditions and publications while based in their new home (Mabel Cynthia Mascarenhas 9-11).

Language has its politics and being caught in one or the other options has had its impact. Elsewhere, and in another context, the *Caravan* journalist Sagar has argued that remaining restricted to reading Hindi alone in school and being a young man, without accessing writing in English, disallowed him from gaining "discoveries [which...] opened my mind to anti-caste thought, progressive politics and the history of struggles against inequality". While this need not be taken as an argument against linguistic diversity or supporting mono-cultures of the mind, linguistically, the point made here can be appreciated.

Forms of control

There have been different forms of control of the book in Goa over the past. Right from who controlled the early sixteenth-century printing presses, mainly for missionary work in a colonial setting, to political curbs on free speech in the twentieth-century regime of Salazar. Even in post-1961 Goa, the form and nature of control changes, but it doesn't end. The geographical spread of the press in Goa also suggests that the regional disparities were another factor. Some semi-urban areas, such as Bastora, Ribandar or Santa Cruz, and, as Noel D'Cunha has pointed out, a few more in other remote areas like Curchorem, got access to the press. Yet, it was mainly urban Goa which had the presses. One needs to keep in mind though that 'rural' and 'urban' can be changing concepts too. Old Goa or the Cidade de Goa and Rachol in Salcete, near Margão, might have been prominent centres when printing was launched there centuries ago; today these places lack their former power, and for long could have been considered almost rural areas. Language has also been another form of control, deliberate or otherwise, as noted earlier.

The politics of publishing can be another reality. For instance, years after the Cold War ended, the CIA has been accused of having "funded and supported literary magazines worldwide while waging [a] cultural war against communism" (Jones). The same can be said of Goa. Here too, both elites in the pre-1961 and post-1961 eras could play the dominant role in the publishing race and in attempts to build hegemony over the thoughts and debates of local society. In the pre-1961 era, the local elites would be mostly pro-Portuguese and upper castes; post-1961 it was the rising and economically dominant sections, those who had fought the erstwhile Portuguese regime, as well as those favoured politically by the new dispensation.

Yet, control over the book has extended to other spheres too. The Kenyan author-librarian of Indian descent, Shiraz Durrani, who sees the book as a political object, has extended the argument. Durrani has said that there can be no neutrality, and even librarians need to take a stance in the battle for equality and social justice. Durrani asks what role librarians can play to

ensure that there is real democracy in our societies, our world and in our libraries and whether they are ready to join in the struggle to 'define and shape a different future' for the country as well as for its libraries. The only way for libraries to connect with their world is to

understand and respond appropriately to their struggles for equality and social justice. This is not a matter from which librarians can opt-out on a pretence of 'neutrality' of the profession. If the term 'we are all in it together' has a meaning at all, it is in this context, since librarians are not sitting on a floating cloud removed from all social, political and economic reality. This reality not only influences the library, but the library and librarians also impact on the society in dialectical relations from which it is not possible to opt-out. (*Progressive Librarianship* 35-37)

Elsewhere, Durrani has argued that "In all class societies, libraries are institutions, which primarily serve the needs of the class in power" ("Information & Liberation" 61). The same could be said of book publishing. He raises the question of the link between libraries and the "information field" being controlled by "which class controls the means of production and hence power". While "the primary purpose of collecting, storing and disseminating information is to satisfy the material needs of the people" he has argued that "[i]n practice, libraries end up serving primarily the needs of one class or race, while a myth is maintained that the needs of all are served." In his view, a "(m)inority elite has thus become information-rich and the rest of the population is forced to live in information poverty" (62).

Durrani has argued that,

Those who control information and systems of communications also decide what interpretation to give to our history and culture. They decide which ideologies, individuals and political and social movements 'live' and which will die. This is no crude mind control. This is a silent and hidden hand going into our collective minds to organize our collective information and knowledge. Aspects of information that are unpalatable to the ruling classes are deleted and those that legitimize their rule are magnified. This newly recreated world is then projected through all means of social communication: mass media, the education system, arts and culture as well as through libraries and archives. (Editorial 1)

There can be other forms of control too. Imports of books into India have been impacted by Custom taxes and other barriers, as faced currently too; but such issues are still being debated. Popat has questioned the view that imports of books into India are expensive due to high import duty, as sometimes made out to be. Latest editions of foreign educational books cost more than what it does for the same book in the West. But other barriers have also caused some disquiet; in 2019, courier services bringing in small packets, including a single book from overseas, required the recipient to fill forms to receive the same. In the Union budget of July 2019, the Union finance minister Nirmala Sitharaman imposed a five per cent duty on imported books leading to a discussion on what purposes this served, whether it raised significant revenues for the government, and whether it at all helped the domestic book sector ("Twitter Unhappy....").

There can be other forms of 'control' too, in terms of who gets a voice. Bravo (125) has noted that the arguments put forth by both the governments of India and Portugal over the Indian armed forces action in 1961 saw that "few Goans were persuaded to take a stand on either side of this debate". He also suggests that the "historiography of the debate" (129) and that "some attention [it has received] from a handful of scholars" (134) came initially from writers outside Goa or those with roots outside the region. He cites the work of Arthur Rubinoff, José Freire Antunes, B. S. Shastry, R.P. Rao, the Bombay-based Goan Sarto Esteves, the returned Goan P.P. Shirodkar, and M.N. Pearson. Bravo has argued that while Benedict Anderson's

brilliant insight into the use of novels, newspapers and other forms of print by capitalism to form an 'imagined community' is useful, he fails

to explore national histories produced in universities. In the mid-nineteenth century, nationalism and the professionalization of history were not mutually exclusive events. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine the rise of nationalism without the corresponding rise of universities and the professionalization of history. (141)

In some cases, the domination by priests is obvious in a number of topics – from history to texts offering remedies for poisonous snake-bites, and Konkani literature (Costa IV 124-126).

Other background connected with the early growth of the book in Europe, and consequently in Goa, might be relevant here. Printing was invented in fifteenth-century Europe, and by the sixteenth century got widely established across that continent. Governments and the Church encouraged printing, using it to disseminate Bibles and for the spread of official information. Yet, there also was a growth of dissent and critiques of the power elites. Resultantly, governments across Europe, and later, elsewhere too, set in place controls over printers.

Copyright laws, which are today seen as an incentive to encourage the creativity of the author, were initially put in place also to control the spread of ideas by the then ruling class. Government established controls over printers in Europe and elsewhere. Official licenses were sometimes made necessary, and licenses gave printers the exclusive rights to print works for only a fixed period. The Republic, dukes of Florence and Popes granted an exclusive monopoly to select printers, often for 14 years or less. As Altbach notes:

Copyright has a long history, but it emerged as an important idea as nations build up their own 'cultural infrastructures' and felt the need to systematise and protect authors, publishers, musicians, and the panoply of knowledge industries that emerged.... Historically, copyright developed in England beginning in the 16th century not as a means of protecting authors and intellectuals but of maintaining order and discipline in the emerging book trade. The evolution of copyright in England followed a rather twisted path and was informed by the concerns of the marketplace, of book publishers, and eventually of the desire of the British book trade to protect its export interests as England became a key centre for intellectual products and for publishing not only for its colonies but also for the United States. Copyright in England was also very much linked to the laws of press control and censorship and it functioned for more than 150 years as a means of maintaining a monopoly in the book. (1644)

In recent times too, the impact of copyright has been critically looked at. Alan Story of the University of Kent has studied (i) the impact of copyright on poor/least developed countries (ii) copyright and proprietary and Free/Open Source Software (iii) copyright and the Internet (iv) copyright, education and traditional printed materials (v) copyright and intangible indigenous heritage and knowledge and (vi) the approach of the US and the EU in increasing the duration of copyright terms.

In Goa, there have been shades of the intention to control the written word. Going through the texts which have been 'forgotten' over time, there also appears to be an element of Goa wanting to discredit or at least overlook the texts of an earlier regime. Some of the writing was seen in not too friendly light. For instance, Dr Arthur G. Rubinoff has suggested that his book *India's Use of Force in Goa* was viewed unfavourably by some in India itself, mainly because of its title. The book otherwise is fairly supportive of India's position over 1961. As Scholberg has commented on Rubinoff: "His work on Goa is scholarly and objective. He has pointed out the dilemma faced by Nehru who stood for anti-colonialism on the one hand, but on the other for negotiation rather than force to solve international crises. He acted finally as he did because he perceived his action to be in the national interest" (*Bibliography* 407). Rubinoff

has stated:

The 'use of force' is an international relations term used when a country employs its military. There is nothing pejorative about it. Indeed, my book is not a criticism of India. Those who claim it is have never read it or do not understand international politics. (Email)

Technology, or the lack of it

Technology has shaped both Goa's headstart in the race and also its decline in the world of printing, over the centuries. Goa got off to an early start, not just at the subcontinental, pan-Indian level, but even at the continental and Asian stage in the mid-sixteenth century. Its early access to printing has earned it a place in the global time-line of printing history, including in children's books (Childress 119). Likewise, it has gained mention in the guide-book of the Gutenberg Museum at Liebfrauenplatz in the German city of Mainz and references amidst the early Indian books it helped produce. However, after that, the lack of access to printing technology, and also related political and economic changes, either in the region or amongst those who controlled Goa's destiny, has impacted the field.

In 1556, the printing press reached Goa after it reached Mexico, but before it reached other parts of the non-European world such as Lima in Peru. Its arrival in Goa was also before it reached Bombay in 1675-75, Tranquebar in 1712, Colombo in 1736, Pondicherry in 1758, Madras in 1761, Calcutta in 1777, Serampore in 1800 and Lahore in 1848. The printing press was operational in Goa before it reached parts of Russia outside of Moscow, all but six cities in Portugal, Norway, Latvia, Ukraine, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, Armenia, almost all parts of Africa and most parts of Latin America. Goa ranks among the first places in the globe where Gutenberg's invention in printing spread in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These places include Istanbul in Turkey; Fez in

Morocco; Goa; Nagasaki in Japan. In turn, Spain took printing over the Atlantic to Mexico and Lima in Peru.

In Goa, the press was first established at the Jesuit College of St Paul (Ojeda Marín 143), once the main Jesuit institution in Asia and today in ruins at Old Goa, the former colonial capital. João de Bustamante, later called João Rodrigues, a Spaniard who joined the Jesuits, got called the 'Indian Gutenberg', the '*primer impresor*', 'Pioneer in the Art of Printing in India', and the '*prototypographicus*' in India for his role in printing in this part of the world (Ojeda Marín 138). Assisting him was a local whose name is not known. Another native of Spain is said to have prepared the first types in any Indian language, Tamil, in the 1570s. A second press, run by John Quinquencio and John Endem, is believed to have been set up, but nothing is known of it. The third press came up at what was then St. Ignatius College at Rachol, an institution which still operates at Rachol in South Goa though under a different name and management ("Rachol Seminary").

By the nineteenth century, the change of the political climate, and Goa's close colonial connections with Europe through Portugal, made it easy to access technology and equipment. At the Government Printing Press in Panjim, formerly the Imprensa Nacional de Nova-Goa, one could till recently find printing presses, even at the start of the twenty-first century, which were a century and a half old (Noronha "GoaPrinting.").

Changing technology is another factor which had its impact. Presses like the influential late nineteenth and twentieth-century Tipografia Rangel at Bastora village still has an outhouse-like space where the printing press was once located.



Figure 4 Printing press from an earlier era, still visible at the Government Printing Press in Panjim, circa 2008.

In the early twentieth century, the printers used small but efficient presses, as

can be seen from the neatness and quality of the work created, for instance, by Tipografia Rangel or Livraria Singbal. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, new newspapers like the short-lived West Coast Times broke into the Goa market (Faleiro WCT 32-34). These came along with modern offset printing and photographs which were sharply reproduced, turning into trendsetters for their times. In October 1983, the O Heraldo or Herald, as it got known in English, shifted over from being an old, traditional tabloid-sized publication to an English-language broadsheet. By the early 1980s, local newspapers like O Heraldo or Herald, managed to access some of the most sophisticated typesetting Apple Macintosh computers (Caetano Fernandes). Also in use were fairly advanced, by local standards, offset printing facilities. As a young employee the in the industry, this researcher noted the use of advanced technology in Goa, among the first across India, at a time when even major 'national' newspapers like The Times of India were using the older hot-metal forms of printing. This came about just as that newspaper was making the shift from Portuguese to English in 1983 (Noronha Behind the News 62-80). These examples, even if from the world of newspaper publishing, do indicate the changes that were happening in the world of Goan printing overall. Such realities are often overlooked in Goa currently. Likewise, it is not correct to assume that the bigger papers had better technology and an early web presence. It was smaller expatriate groups, from Andhra and even Goa, which carved out an early Indian presence in the early-to-mid 1990s in cyberspace (A. Gomes). This was followed by medium-sized, more innovative regional newspapers such as the Deccan Herald of Bangalore, The Hindu of Madras, among others.

Over the decades, Goa saw a slow but significant shift from letter-press to linotype, used at newspapers like *The Navhind Times*. AppleMac computers were used by the *Herald*, formerly *O Heraldo*, one of the first newspapers in the country to do so. In the world of books, there was also a shift to outsourcing, which did not even require a publisher to have an in-house press, by the end of

the last century and at the start of the current one. By the first decade of the twenty-first century, print-on-demand emerged as an option, allowing for smaller quantities of a book to be printed, though at a higher per-unit cost.

In the twenty-first century, e-books became a possibility. But, the playout of such possibilities depends on several factors. For instance, even in December 2018, the was a debate over the GST, the Goods and Services Tax, which was levied on e-books across India ("PublishingNext"). This added more entry barriers and made it further difficult for smaller players to enter the field. Incidentally, there is no GST on the sale of printed books, though printing itself involved paying a GST of 12% as of December 2018. The GST Council had announced a 'relief' in GST for publishers of e-books, and the rate of this tax was reduced from 18% to 5%. This would apply only in cases where an e-book had a print version of it as well. Yet, there was "little clarity on what the move means for the industry" (Cornelious).

Summary: This chapter looks at language shifts across Goa in the twentieth century, and argues that language has also been a tool in controlling thought and building hegemony over the literary discourse. Language has also helped preserve power and maintain privilege in Goa.

Language shifts have repeatedly taken place in multilingual Goa, due to a range of factors. Among these were: official and state policy; migration of individuals and groups; political influences from within or outside the region; cultural influences in fields like entertainment and music; educational policies; colonial approaches; and Central pan-Indian government policy over linguistic states, among others.

These shifts in language have happened for far longer than just the period under review. The Portuguese language was at the core for much of the time since Goa got Asia's first printing press in 1556. Later, the language shifted to the periphery. Languages like Marathi and Konkani, despite the latter's division by script, grew in prominence and clout post-1961. There have been

Core-Periphery shifts within Goa too on the lines of region and geographical location, caste, community, etc.

Since 1961, the Portuguese language has seen a speedy demise in Goa. At times, developments from the world of politics, and the influences these had on language, have shaped the written word. Orlando da Costa is discussed, against the wider backdrop of Eufemiano Miranda's overview of Portuguese writing in Goa, *Oriente e Ocidente na Literatura Goesa*. The label of 'Indo-Portuguese' is discussed, as is the official status of the Portuguese language in Goa during the pre-1961 era. Other related aspects are discussed too.

The issue of diverse scripts within the Konkani language and the attitude of various rulers towards the language is also discussed. So is the case of Marathi in Goa. The chapter includes a discussion on Goan writing in English in contemporary times. Books published in varied languages in recent times, and issues which help one understand the 'language puzzle' of Goa, are also discussed. In conclusion, comes a section focussing on the 'politics of the book' and forms of control over it, including the role of technology.

The next chapter will offer conclusions based on the five chapters above, including the current one.

6

Lessons from Goa: Summary and Discussions

You cannot open a book without learning something. —Confucius What the mind does not know, the eye does not see.... — Anon. What the eye doesn't see, the heart doesn't grieve over. — Anon. Seeing does not take place in the eyes. — Credited to the book Ever Thought About the Truth?

To assist the reader, the dissertation's final chapter restates here the research problem taken up and also reviews the major methods used in the study. Sections within this chapter summarise results that emerge and discuss their interpretations.

Statement of the problem

As stated in Chapter 1, the study reported here was a case study of book publishing in twentieth-century Goa. It is argued that both the fiction and non-fiction literature of twentieth-century Goa was shaped by a range of diverse factors, often distant from the writing process itself and largely beyond the control of the author. This is evident from an examination of Goa's untypical history and how this shaped printing and the book emerging from the region; trends in the literary production of Goa since the mid-sixteenth century but particularly in the twentieth; the operation of presses, publishing and difficulties authors faced to get into print; the impact of the diasporic author on the cultural production of Goa; the fluctuating dominance of different languages used in the region in the twentieth century and the impact of this on literary output, and other such factors.

Review of the methodology

The research describes the characteristics of the population by examining samples of that population which includes authors, publishers and printers of twentieth-century Goa.

The study has made use of observations and interviews. The sample was selected by convenience, and availability, of authors and publishers or printers for further understanding. Varied sections of the sample were also sought to be studied, keeping in mind their periods of activity, the models deployed then by authors in writing and getting published, diversity of the languages worked in, the gender divide, the class-caste background of the authors and the need to understand authors both based in Goa and the diaspora. Variables were selected to represent various facets of twentieth-century authoring, publishing and printing.

To understand the issues involved in wider dimensions, the ferment witnessed locally within Goan society, and in distant regions that influenced it

from a distance, at times thousands of kilometres away, were also looked at. This is reflected particularly through Appendix D: 'Portugal, Goa, India... and the book'.

Summary of the results

From what we have encountered earlier, many aspects point to changes in the region which shaped its literary culture. We get an idea of the factors at play, and the implications these have had on the local literature-creation process. It becomes apparent that politics, economics and Goa's rather unusual history have shaped the literary production of this region, in more intense ways than the intrinsic ability of a writer. This reality stands out even more starkly in a small place like Goa. Due to its carefully maintained histories, it is possible to track such non-literary changes against literary creation at different points of time.

Goa's role in history has shifted dramatically over the past centuries. In the world of economics, it has been pointed out that "there is a strong link between political power and the share in the world economy" (Kennedy). This pattern of understanding power and society could likewise be juxtaposed against the world of literary creation, authoring and book publishing too. Thus, it could be argued that there are similar links between political power, economic power and the creation of literature. It is not without coincidence that some of the 'greatest' writers of their time simultaneously belonged to, and were propped up by, global empires or dominant regions from various parts of the globe, across history. For instance, in the case of England during its era of global dominance, this list could include Shakespeare to Geoffrey Chaucer, John Milton, Daniel Defoe, Aldous Huxley, Charles Dickens, Lewis Carroll, Robert Frost, Arthur Conan Doyle, Jane Austin, George Eliot, Robert Louis Stevenson, William Wordsworth, H.G.Wells, C. S. Luis, Agatha Christie, Jonathan Swift, James Joyce, Jack London, Rudyard Kipling, Virginia Woolf, T.S. Eliot, John Keats, William Butler Yeats or Oscar Wilde. Portugal in its heyday had Luís Vaz de

Camões. Spain came in with Miguel de Cervantes, from the sixteenth century, when a Papal Bull assigned that country half the world to colonise. The French greats of around the nineteenth century were Alexandra Dumas, Voltaire, Honoré de Balzac, Gustave Flaubert and Molière. The United States of the twentieth century saw the creation of Henry David Thoreau, Mark Twain, William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, John Steinbeck, Walt Whitman, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Tennessee Williams, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Edgar Allan Poe. Likewise, one could see a similar pattern in even the famed Romans of their times. At the height of their Empire, there were Cicero, Horace, Virgil, Ovid. Among the Greek were Homer, even if his actual authorship is contested; Plato; the tragedian Sophocles; and others such as Archimedes, Aristophanes, Euclid, Hippocrates, Plato, and Aristotle. There have also been Arabic writers whose work goes back to earlier centuries. In turn, in the twenty-first century, one can see a growing interest in Indians writing in English. This is happening even as this part of the world emerges from its earlier images of poverty and convinces other parts of the globe of its ability to possibly become a dominant economy. If one goes by certain economic prognostications, India could be the third-largest economy in the globe by 2050 (Lang'at Junior).

The Centre–Periphery, or the Core-Periphery model thus suggests that the global economy is characterised by a structured relationship between economic centres which, by using their military, political, and trade power, extracts an economic surplus from the subordinate peripheral countries. Transposing such ideas to the world of books, one could argue that book production also functions on a Centre-Periphery model at the global scale. Book publishing has had its dominant centres, and continues to have these. Technology has not spread equally in all regions of the globe. By a series of happen-stances, Goa came about to be the Asian centre of book production in the mid-sixteenth century. Over the centuries, it lost this role and sank into being the periphery from where few books were produced, not enough to meet its own needs. In

parallel, by the mid-twentieth century, post-Independence India found itself in a similar situation, hard-pressed to build its capacity to meet its book-production needs. Writing about this in the 1970s, Altbach pointed to the challenges and difficulties not just of India but of many Third World countries in meeting their own book production needs. At this point in time, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, the situation has changed, and book production has been booming in some parts of India, particularly its big cities. There has been a growth in printing infrastructure, some of it world-class and being used to outsource the printing of books meant for markets in the 'core', i.e. the Western affluent countries, which facilities are also available competitively in countries like Hong Kong, Singapore, China, etc. (Roy). Within India, on the other hand, many cities are today considered hubs of printing — such as Amritsar, Delhi and Faridabad in the north; Ahmedabad and Mumbai in the west; and Bangalore, Coimbatore, Madras and Hyderabad in the south.

Region	Period	Position ^{in core or} periphery	Factors inputs
GOA	Post 1556	Core. Major player in India. Attempted some Indian languages. Fulcrum for knowledge exchange with Europe.	 Portuguese colonialism. Missionary expansion into Asia. Gutenberg press accidentally arrives in Goa, the first in Asia. Geopolitics of Africa (Abyssinia) and Europe (Portugal).
GOA	c.1683-1821	Little or nothing believed to have been printed in any format in Goa over 14 decades	 Colonial concern over the impact of printing in the colonies Elsewhere, till 1822, when Brazil became independent in strange circumstances, the Impressão Régia held a monopoly over printing in that large country.
GOA	End of the 19th century	Casa Luso-Francesa becomes the first local publishing house -cum- bookshop set up in Goa.	 Even after printing was again allowed, constrained by a lack of machinery and raw materials.
India South Asia and Third World	Mid 20th century	India and many Third World countries face challenges and difficulties in meeting their own book production needs.	 Emerging from a colonial situation Difficulties in economics, technology, markets, know-how, abilities
India including Goa	Early 21st century	Situation improves. Promising spells. But print culture is not evenly spread, rather it stays primarily within the bigger cities.	 Growing technological base Markets open up Literacy on the rise Affordability of print

Table 8 Goa's shifting role in the world of books

The trajectory of the history of the press in Goa — and the rest of India — can be interpreted through the table alongside. The Centre–Periphery model plays itself out here in the form of a powerful centre, which controls the

dissemination of technology and know-how to certain other centres. One can raise questions about the relationship between the underdevelopment in book production and the process necessary for the development of capitalism in the central core, besides reproducing capitalism. The table explains Goa's shifting role in the world of the book and the factors that led to the same.

However, the twenty-first-century rise of the e-book threatens to disrupt that growth trajectory, even though the creation of e-books poses its challenges in terms of technology and distribution in countries like India. Just at a time when the printing sector in countries like India began to get comfortable with paper-based printing technologies, they have had to shift to electronic books. The need for specific hardware and reading restrictions make e-books less reader-friendly as compared to paper in the less-affluent world. With the paper book, ownership confers unrestricted rights in sharing a particular copy. But restrictions in sharing e-books can threaten to change the game in very many ways.

A colonial press, a hub for the knowledge exchange: Printing in Goa started with a colonial press, which was not intended to directly promote either local creativity or free speech. But this does not mean it had little or no implications to Goa itself. The early printing initiatives made the place a hub for the Asian-European knowledge exchange. It influenced local thinking, the growth of certain local languages in diverse directions — such as the birth and growth of the Roman-script for the local Konkani language. Konkani has been also called the *lingua bramanica, canarim* or *lingua canarim, lingua brámana canarim, brámana de Goa, gomantaki, goani, Concani, Amchi Bhas, Konknni, govi or Goenchi bhas* at various points of time in history and by different language speakers. Vitoria-Gasteiz has pointed out that

Konkani has been known by a variety of names. These include *Canarim, Concanim, Gomantaki, Bramana* and *Goani*. The term used for the language by European Jesuit Thomas Stephens in the sixteenth century; '*Canarim*', may have originated mistakenly from the term '*Kannada*' which is the language of neighbouring Karnataka or from the Persian word for coast, '*Kinara*'. In the latter case, it would mean 'the language of the coast'. The European authors also designated the language of the educated classes as 'Lingua Canarim Bramana' or 'Bramana de Goa'. (7)

Zwartes terms Goa an "important language centre for the missionaries, who needed linguistic skills for evangelization" (26). He credits the Portuguese missionaries with playing a crucial role with grammars in five Indian languages:

- Tamil. Henrique Henriques SJ's Arte malaur. 1549.
- Konkani. Thomas Stephens SJ's Arte da lingoa canarim. Ed. and enlarged by Diogo Ribeiro SJ et al, Rachol, Collegio de S. Ignacio da Companhia de Iesu. 1640.
- Bengali. Manoel da Assumpçam, OSA's *Breve Compendio da Grammatica Bangala*. 1973.
- Marathi. Anonymous. *Gramatica marastta a mais vulgar que se practica nos Reinos do Nizamaxà, e Idalxà.* 1778. and
- Hindi. Anonymous. *Gramatica indostana a mais vulgar que se practica no Imperio do gram Mogol.* 1778. (23)

Besides, the first grammar of Malayalam, *Grammatica samscredamica*, was written in Portuguese, but by the German Jesuit Johann Ernst Hanxleden, 1681–1732, who is today better known in Kerala as Arnos Pathiri.

During a survey of libraries in Europe, Muthuraj in the 1980s found some Tamil works in Portugal. Including:

The Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon possesses the first Tamil grammar, which was written by Henriques in the 17th century. In the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino in Lisbon are seven MSS mostly ascribed to P. Jacome Gongalves, who worked in Sri Lanka at the beginning of the 18th century. They are: (i) a dictionary in Portuguese, Tamil and Sinhalese; (ii) a translation and paraphrase of the Gospel portions to be read on every Sunday of the year 1730; (iii) a treatise on the teaching of the Bible; (iv) two copies of Gospel portions with expositions; (v) sermons on the Passion of Christ; (vi) lives of many saints; (vii) "The Feelings of Wisdom"; all these MSS were written between 1730 and 1740. (190)

Zwartes argues:

In contrast to the situation in Brazil, the Portuguese Jesuits introduced a local press to India at an early stage, so that they could print their religious and linguistic works locally. In fact, the history of the Jesuit presses does not start in Rome, where an edition of Martial's epigrams was published in 1559 and followed by other Jesuit imprints, but three years earlier, in India. (25-26)

After subsequent developments, including the growing mistrust of the press in both Portugal and its colonies, leading to the demise of printing activity, and the rise of alternative printing centres in other parts of South Asia, there were further developments here which have been delineated.

The waxing and waning of publishing activity in Goa across the centuries can be interpreted as a reflection of the 'dependence theory' as applied to the literary world. When Goa was a prominent centre of Empire, a prominent player in Asia even if only as a subsidiary to Lisbon some 5191 miles, 8355 kilometres or 4511 nautical miles away, the book made great strides in this part of the world. Subsequently, the decline of Goa as a colonial centre saw the decline and fall of the book too in the region. At the present period, in the early twenty-first century, Goa is only slowly attempting to rebuild its role, this time as a marginal

player in the world of books, first by building the infrastructure, economics and channels to voice its concerns.

The Core-Periphery divide can at times be geographical as well, more so in terms of access to publishing. Adler, cited in Chapter 3, gives figures which suggest that the proximity to a publishing centre can play a critical role in deciding who gets published, citing the example of the prestigious New England Journal of Medicine. Incidentally, even till the 1980s, the mini 'Fleet Street' of the press in the Goan capital was located in the tiny lanes behind the General Post Office, located around São Tome, in the eastern end of town just as one entered this small regional capital. The Herald (formerly O Heraldo) was located there for quite a while, as was its sister printing-press, Casa J. D. Fernandes. So was the offices of Diario de Noite, a Portuguese eveninger which had closed sometime earlier. Even the oppositional The Goan Weekly had its first-floor offices in the locality, as did the Goa Today, founded by Lambert Mascarenhas, in partnership with others, and the Printwell Press run by F.D. Dantas. Popular Printing Press is also located nearby. The current generation running the Lourenço family that has run the Popular Printing Press, located on the Corte de Oiteiro, leading to 31st January Road, for the past three generations recalls the work of their grandfather, the founder of the press. Helen Lourenço remembered that books would be piled up in their home at Santa Cruz, then a village on the outskirts of Panjim known to have quite a few printing presses, printers and press employees. The press was founded possibly sometime in the 1940s by José Caetano Gonçalo Lourenço, though much of the past is lost to fading memory and a fire which severely damaged the institution in the early 1990s. Helen Lourenço has argued that the printing scene has currently drastically changed in Goa with "unhealthy competition" entering the field.

There are other indicators of how proximity influences publishing. Liliadhar Pendse gives figures from another local publication, the *Harpa do Mandovi*: *jornal de poesias*, which was published in Nova Goa from June

through October of 1865. This was one of the first journals of Portuguese India that was exclusively dedicated to poetry (112). Forty-four poems, including previously published ones, were included in the journal. Out of these, 18 poems that were written in Goa, 8 in Nova Goa, 1 in Velha (Old) Goa and 5 in Ribandar (115). In other words, as Pendse notes, the majority of the poems, approximately 73%, were conceived in the vicinity of Pangim, the capital of Portuguese India. The rest of the poems were written in Pondá, Chimbel, Candolim and other parts of Goa. None came in from the overland areas of Damão and Diu (115).

Beyond Goa: Knowledge from South Asia or further, which found its way to Europe during the early colonial encounter, often did so through Goa. The role of the Portuguese language in the subcontinent, beyond Goa, is often overlooked. For instance, Portuguese was the largest source of European words in Indian languages until the British emerged as the dominant colonial power in India. The first books to emerge from the region did so in languages such as Portuguese–Latin, Konkani, Ethiopic and Tamil. Some of the early Portuguese books were seen as seriously useful to the other countries of Europe. These books were reprinted into Dutch, English, German, Spanish, and other languages that arguably went on to shape colonial knowledge and history in far-reaching ways. Individuals and the peculiarities of the global encounter also played a role. Goa-based Portuguese Jesuit Henrique Henriques, 1520-1600, was considered "the first great European scholar of any Indian language". Jolepalyam Mangamma has argued that to "study about printing in India is to study the early Christian literary activity in and around Goa". It is often argued that the colonial 1556 press in Goa produced largely religious texts, and it was not aimed to offer – intentionally or otherwise – the possibility of free speech. Yet, some of its early mid-sixteenth century work dealt with critical language skills and useful plant-based knowledge. Beyond its boundaries, Goa however also played an often forgotten and invisible but significant role in printing and the history of the book in India. This includes in early lithography in India; and the setting up

among the first libraries in the subcontinent, as noted. Goa's Publica Livraria, or public library, set up in 1832 by the government, was among the first public libraries to be set up in South Asia, and it continues to function though renamed multiple times over to reflect the changing political and power realities. Pioneers of printing in Asia realised that the early press which they installed here could also — importantly — be used to disseminate their point of view, thus spreading hegemonic control, and at the same time as a tool to collate and absorb information from the periphery which could be of immense use to readers back home at the core.

Strict censorship and controls on the circulation of books and periodicals in Portugal and its colonies made it difficult to access banned books, including a vast range of Enlightenment and liberal literature. Reading became into a dangerous activity, and circuits for clandestine circulation are believed to have arisen.

Goa's literary output in the twentieth century has been affected by developments in the region, the subcontinent of South Asia, and even in Europe. Closer to the period under study, two World Wars, one Economic Blockade in the 1950s, the tumultuous changes of the 1960s, and more, have had its impact on publishing and printing activity in Goa.

Goa and its diaspora: In a later century, the Goan diaspora would play a disproportionately significant role both among the Goan community itself and in the South Asian, East African, Lusophone African and Western contexts. The 1980s saw the first attempts to collate an anthology of Goan writing, having a significant focus on diasporic writing. Many included in this anthology were part of the international Goan diaspora; expat Goan writers included in Nazareth and Henry's outnumber Goa-based writers roughly by a ratio of two-to-one. This could be because of its English-focus and also due to the relative ease with which writers overseas could be identified, communicated with and their submissions received, as compared to those back in Goa in the early 1980s.

Goa, and especially its diaspora, has been known for its high level of multilingualism. Goans and members of the Goan diaspora have written in diverse languages across the centuries. These include Konkani, English, Portuguese, Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit, Pali, Kannada, Sinhala, Tamil, French, German, Spanish, Norwegian, Latin, Kiswahili, Italian and Swedish, among others, and probably Burmese and Russian too. In the twentieth century, Goan authors got their work published in Coimbra, Lisboa or Lisbon, Porto, Bombay, Mangalore, Rio de Janeiro, Luanda, Mangalore and Beira, among other centres.

Till recently, there was a dominance of Goan cultural production created in centres outside of Goa. This was true whether in the world of theatre, Konkani film, periodicals, books, music and lexicography. Such a trend came about due to multiple factors: the high rate of out-migration, many younger Goans and those from the productive age groups being settled outside Goa, and some there having access to education in the English language. Moreover, these sections were also located in cities which had early access to technology and where the economics favoured the growth of the cultural industry.

Power-shifts and their impacts: Later, there were multiple power-shifts involving diverse language, which came about more intensely in the period under study. In the twentieth century, there was a change between the dominant and peripheral languages used in Goa. Thus, power equations among languages changed on multiple occasions over time and within different contexts. Twentieth-century Goa was under a Monarchy, a post-revolution Republic, a Right-wing dictatorship, faced an India-supported campaign against Portuguese rule, encountered a blockade of Portuguese Goa by New Delhi, saw military action by the Indian Army, came under an Indian military governor, became a 'union territory' within the Indian Union, held elections that offered universal franchise for the first time, faced a dispute over the political fate of Goa on whether it was to be merged with neighbouring Maharashtra or not and encountered political dissidence and instability. Likewise, migration out of Goa

underwent varied trends during the period. The impact of these factors on the book in Goa also emerges.

Changes on the language front: Besides, the post-1960s phase, and the period before that too, saw the rise of Goan writing in English, Marathi and Konkani, for differing sets of reasons. English was driven by the market, the increasing out-migration of Goans to newer parts of the English-speaking world, and a post-1961 pan-Indian senior bureaucracy which was familiar with that language. Marathi's growth was a continuation of an initially slow-growing trend since the early twentieth century or before but was also linked to later political changes in Goa, the ideology of Goa's first ruling party the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party, movements like the Samuktya Maharashtra movement and irredentist trends within adjoining Maharashtra, the migration of Goans to cities like Bombay and the role played by some bureaucrats on deputation with the Goa administration from that neighbouring state. Meanwhile, Konkani underwent a differing process, from the 1930s under the leadership of Varde Valaulikar, better known as Shenoy Goembab (SarDessai). Earlier influences can also be seen in the work of Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado or the campaigns of the Portuguese administrator of Italian-Spanish origins, J. Cunha Rivara. Cunha Rivara was in Goa from around the time of India's revolt of 1857 and was an Orientalist whose motivations and politics continue to be debated and grappled with today (Souza "Uneasy Lies").

Previously too, Goa has seen many switches in its languages used over its long history. It had seen the influences of the Kadamba script or Pre-Old Kannada script and the Old Kannada or 'Halekannada' alphabet. Goykānaḍī, also called Kandavī, now extinct, was once used to write Konkani or Marathi, and by trading and business families and deployed maintain accounts. The case of the script in Maharashtra is particularly noteworthy, as the developments which led to the "demise of the Modi script" (Sohoni 1) closely parallels the discourse which affected Roman Script Konkani in Goa.

Elsewhere, as noted, outside Goa, Modi was used for Marathi till around the 1930s, when the Balbodhi style of the Devnagari script became the standard Marathi writing and printing system (Sayed "Decoding the Modi Script"). Shifts in language came about due to official and state policy; migration of individuals and groups; political influences from within and outside the region; cultural influences in fields like entertainment and music; educational policies; colonial approaches; and the Indian Central government policy over linguistic states, among other factors.

Linguistic shifts have, intentionally or otherwise, influenced the people's ability to express themselves. Changing forms of class politics have also significantly determined the literary production of Goa in this period, and beyond. In under a century, as noted earlier, the dominant language has changed on multiple occasions, from Portuguese to English-and-Marathi, to Devanagari-script Konkani, later with some space created for Roman-script Konkani. The politics of language — and the shifting fate of diverse languages in twentieth-century Goa — has also impacted the literary production from the region in diverse ways.

Some of the impacts of the linguistic shifts in Goa are visible. At a March 2019 meeting to discuss a State Library Policy for Goa, participants complained of a lack of locally-relevant Konkani language material for students to undertake and complete school 'projects' about regional issues. The information is either not being generated, or if generated, not easily accessible. Such a lack of resources also reflects an inability of the local society to produce the knowledge that it needs and can use, either on a commercial or not-for-profit basis. This suggests that despite Goa's fairly good multilingual skills, claimed high educational indices and having one of the highest per capita incomes across India, it is unable to meet some of its own diverse information needs. For a set of complex reasons, the regional language Konkani was not the most popular written language, as noted earlier, while it maintained its predominance in the

spoken word, song or theatre. Even currently, in the early twenty-first century, this situation continues. It is seeing a revival to an extent, though with some complications as well, at present.

Goa's 'vernacular revolution' came about belatedly during the twentieth century, when the domination of the Portuguese language gave way to other languages in the region, for a whole set of complex causes mentioned above. Like the challenge to Sanskrit monopolisation in South Asia which came about around 1000 CE, and the ouster of Latin in Europe around the same period, the developments in Goa one millennium later also saw the demise of a language which had powerful State patronage and its replacement by new languages, which were also gaining the support of regional actors for diverse reasons.

In other contexts, the issue of issues of literary 'coteries', especially in the old publishing culture, has been discussed. For a discussion in the contemporary Australian context see Gastonbury (1). In Goa, in a wholly different context, it is possible to locate how kinship networks based on family, caste, village or co-religionist networks which have dominated a disproportionate share in the world of literary creation.

Political trends in this period swung sharply from one end of the spectrum to another, from the Portuguese to the Indian, from the Portuguese language to English to Marathi and Konkani — with fluctuating script use too. This has had a sharp impact on the literary output in the region.

Other issues also emerge on the language front. For instance, there has been a differential growth among different genres and in diverse languages. For instance, the Portuguese language in Goa once had a fairly vibrant short story culture promoted by the newspapers and periodicals. This tradition has been almost completely lost. Likewise, in post-1961 Goa, there has been a growth in the short story in Konkani and Marathi, particularly in the special issues brought out during festive seasons like Diwali and Ganesh Chaturthi (Bhate; Prabhudesai). For several reasons, the short story in English seems to have hardly picked up momentum in Goa, though at the time of writing some efforts are being made in that direction. Recent endeavours though have attempted to promote the short story in English in Goa. These include the Fundação Oriente short story competition – which is open to entries in Konkani both Devnagiri and Roman scripts, Marathi, Portuguese or English ("IV Goan..."); the João-Roque Literary Journal which started in 2017, the anthology compiled and edited by the poet Manohar Shetty which includes translations into English, occasional short training programmes in writing English short stories held for instance at St Xavier's College, and the initiatives such as the Novella Short Stories or @novellareads start-up to promote creative writing based in CIBA-Verna. But such initiatives have come up in the second decade of the twenty-first century, outside the period under study.

One subsequent major break in Goa's publishing history came after 1961. The demise of Portuguese rule in Goa in that year saw the arrival of significant changes in the field of language, economics and the direction of the discourse that books published in Goa have taken. Within a short time after 1961, Portuguese ceased to be the dominant language of the region, due to both economic and political factors. Becoming part of India after 1961 lead to significant transitional issues in the second half of the century.

Twentieth-century Goa saw the shift of printing from family-run businesses to more bourgeois capitalist enterprises. This was particularly true of newspapers in Goa, after the end of Portuguese rule here in December 1961. Book publishing remained family-owned, though, in a few cases, has begun to be run on corporate lines.

It is important to correlate the publishing possibilities with the books that subsequently emerged. As noted elsewhere, the emerging literary works, fiction or non-fiction, depend on several non-literary factors that shape the field. But the lack of publishing possibilities, the distance of authors from their potential publishers, and the pressures of harsh economic realities on this field are prime factors which emerge.

While Goa had access to the technology, organisation, skills, and ideas to create books during intermittent periods since the mid-sixteenth century, the nature of the State and government, as well as ownership of the press, has often resulted in a lack of freedom to express itself. Technological challenges have impacted the role of the printed word in Goa, as discussed in the previous chapter. So did economic challenges. Gender or caste-class in Goan publishing are issues of relevance.

Printing, publishing and proximity to those in power — governments, states, politicians, landowners, local elites, industry — is an important factor too, as is apparent from the experiences above of those involved in publishing. The rise of new political elites in the period under study — for instance in 1910, 1961, 1980 and the 1990s — saw the rise of new printers and decline of others, as did the birth of the technology itself in Goa in the early days of early European colonialism.

There is also a relationship between potential growth available to an author, and factors like the literary demand. Literary demand is known to stimulate literary supply. The lack of printing presses, bookshops and publishing houses in Goa, and also the dependence on the government or control of officialdom over these for the large part of the twentieth century, also affected the nature and scope of the literary output that could emerge.

Being on the periphery of the literary world during certain, although fairly long, periods of its history has stymied the local potential to publish. On the other hand, Goa's early start, its links with Europe and also more recent attention in the pan-Indian market have had significant favourable impacts. This has happened also due to reasons like the tourism spurt to this region, both domestic and international, particularly after the 1980s; political instability in the State in the 1990s; and Goa's growing role as a place for second-homes for some prominent writers too (Martins). Vikram Seth and Amitav Ghosh have

been listed as having "both zeroed in on parts of Goa" as this place turned into a fashionable address for other prominent Indian and foreign authors and other prominent individuals to settle in (Martins; Lopez). So did others like Sunil Khilnani, and occasional high-profile writer-visitors to Goa like Ohran Pamuk or Kiran Desai. These trends appear in the early twenty-first century. Some some fall beyond the period of this study, yet are noteworthy nonetheless, as the same has shaped the overall relationship Goa has had with the world of books up to this point.

Writers have sometimes had to submit their work to editors and publishers at distant, far-removed-from-Goa, and remote locations. This has shaped the tenor and tone of the writing that was produced, the arguments made and the facts put forward. For instance, while writing about the Goan physician-Orientalist-historian-linguist and numismatist Gerson da Cunha, 1844-1900, the historian Filipa Lowndes Vicente comments "[h]is audiences determined what he wrote..." and he "was conscious of their specificity and adapted his discourse, politics and criticism accordingly" ("Many Frontiers" 231).

Likewise, the centre of publication would surely influence what was written, and how it was presented to editors and the reading public mainly in that city. For instance, the book on the *mando* adapted to the piano – *Dolente*. *Mandó*. *Dança goenesa com variações para piano* – published in Lisbon by Carlos Eugénio Ferreira of Corjuem in 1902 (Costa I 399). Or *The Song of Corumbinas* – *O Canto das Corumbinas* published in London in 1931 by the same author (Costa I 400). The actor from Colva, F.X. Fernandes Douglas titled his 1911 Bombay-published work in an English-Konkani combination as *Twelfth Night or What You Will vo Dogam Bau-Boinam Zoullim* (Costa I 395).

Shifts can also be seen elsewhere, and the 'market' for one's writing can influence what gets written. Archivist and writer on history, Panduranga S.S. Pissurlencar, had a career spanning the tumultuous years of the Portuguese

regime and even the early first decade of post-1961 Goa. His writings range from Portuguese bells in Hindu temples of Ratnagiri district ("Sinos portuguesas"); a bibliographic descriptive list on Abade Faria in 1919 (Abade Faria); a 1933 book on the "Hindu agents of Portuguese diplomacy in India" (*Agentes Hindus*); a 1941-published title on the Hindu collaborators of Afonso de Albuquerque (Migalhas da história); a book highlighting the role of Hindu, Muslim, Jew and Parsi "agents of Portuguese diplomacy in India" in 1952 (Agentes da diplomacia); and a newspaper article mentioning "the destruction of temples, conversion, Shivaji's relations with Goa, and knowledge of Marathi among Goans since the middle of the fifteenth century" (Some Landmarks).

In fast-changing times, the political role of other sections of the society also does come in for questioning. For instance, the Goans in East Africa today face both praises for their 'honesty' and commitment in serving the colonial administration of formerly British East Africa (British Goan 7:28–8:20); and at the same time a rethinking of their attitudes towards Africans themselves who were lower down on the pecking order (British Goan 9:05–10:02).

Apart from the lack of publishing options in Goa itself, another reason for opting to publish elsewhere could be the requirement to deliberately address a different audience. This was the motive for Bernardo Peres da Silva when he published his 1832 work in distant Brazil. On the other hand, there are other reasons for authors deciding to publish their work elsewhere. The prime reason would be the lack of suitable publishing options in Goa itself. There are also other emerging issues which make us consider the role of how books take on a life of their own in small societies. The direct-to-the-printer approach has been one model of getting books out in Goa. There is also a 'print-far-from-Goa model', which could have come about due to necessity.

A few authors managed to break through the barriers and get published. But the 'glass ceiling' that blocked the author in Goa, and which its diaspora also faced, has been fairly low and obtrusive. This was related not only to the lack of

access to publishing. It was also linked to technological limitations; political censorship for a significant part of the twentieth century in Goa, largely between the early 1930s to the start of the 1960s; market limitations; the limited size of the market; Goa by this time being part of the periphery of the 'publishing world'; the challenges and difficulty of entering this world; and the distance between possible publishers and the potential market for the work published.

Large areas of the world, including places like Goa, have felt a lack of the printed word for the most part. But there can be more than one perspective on this. In her essay, Rautenberg has pointed out that Sebastian Brant in the German edition of *Narrenschiff*, or *The Ship of Fools*, makes a harsh criticism of books. Rautenberg quotes Brant as having seen some as being "useless", and has argued that books surround the fool who "rarely reads them, understands little of them and has poor skills" (146). At the end of the fifteenth century itself, Brant has argued against the democratisation of reading, and protests the "overabundance of information in the supposed deluge of books". Ironically enough, parts of the globe, including Goa despite its early start in the world of the history of the book, could still make a case that it has an insufficient number of books for its consumption and understanding, even early in the twenty-first century.

Depending on how one views the situation, it is possible to see Goa as either having an insufficient publishing potential or having more books per thousand population than most other parts of South Asia. Both perspectives can simultaneously hold true, even if seemingly contradictory. On the one hand, there has been a limited amount of organised book publishing happening; and yet, this does not seem to hamper new titles making it to print.

Currently, too, Goa faces significant challenges on the book front. Books published in twentieth century Goa are difficult to locate, and sometimes even unknown or have been completely forgotten. There are many gaps and divides, including those of language or geography, in the field. Yet, Goan writing has

been gaining a growing acceptance since the last two decades of the twentieth century.

There are other lacunae in the field too. Due to a lack of options faced by potential authors, writers from Goa at times had to get their works published in places such as Lisbon or London, New Delhi or Mumbai, among others. The multiplicity of languages used by local writers; limited translations between languages; the restricted number of libraries storing Goa's fragile, centuries-old books and literature; the demise of many 'production houses of Goan thought' of the past without a trace or study; and limited record-keeping on a topic of this nature; have also had an impact. It can be difficult to access original, or copies, of printed works that emerged from Goa, and the diaspora. The scattered nature of the Goan diaspora and inadequate record-keeping of the writings of even prominent writers from the region are other factors. Books brought out by big publishers tend to still get an undue prominence especially in any study of Goan writing in English. Radio also had its impact on the creation of Goa's literary culture, more in the past.

Given the limited levels of literacy in the Goa of the past, though this was not necessarily reflected in Goan diaspora communities, the proliferation of the book came about here in an even more delayed manner. Till virtually the end of the twentieth century, the acute shortage of Goan writing is obvious, in almost any language. But this is also due to the lack of outlets for publishing the same. In keeping with the political situation of the time, the control over book publishing in Goa was largely within the hands of a limited group of elite members of society, of the 'upper' castes, predominantly using the colonial language Portuguese, or the language of the neighbouring state Bombay, later known as Maharashtra. For much of the twentieth century, only very few voices from Goa could make it to print for a variety of reasons. The post-1961 situation saw a shift to the hands of a different set of incipient elites, with English making big headway. If the pre-1961 elite was in some way dependent on the colonial

structure, the post-1961 dominant players often worked out a *modus vivendi* with the new political and capitalist forces growing stronger in the region.

Private presses like Tipografia Rangel of Bastora have played an influential role in shaping Goan writing in the twentieth century and thereabout. Others have played roles in varying degrees of significance. Small presses were spread across some parts of Goa in the twentieth century. These were privately owned, mostly in urban areas of Goa such as Nova Goa/Pangim/Panaji, Margão, Mapuça/Mapusa, Bombaim/Bombay, but others came from non-urban centres. Printing in Goa grew from the Cidade da Goa or Velha Goa to Rachol, and then to Margão from the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, it was taken over by Nova Goa or Pangim. Writings from early times have made the Goan literary world "a stage of constant dispute for social legitimacy, political space, religious power" (Garmes "Thinking Goa"). Till around the 1980s or 1990s arguably, Goa had few or no dedicated, stand-alone publishers. Authors desiring to get out a book would get their text prepared, and approach a printer. The State also played a role in getting works published, and still does in some way. Among publishers were those who functioned on a kind of mixed model acting as printers in some cases, publishers in others, or publishing work on being commissioned by institutions including governments. A few prominent ones dominated much of the twentieth centenary, sometimes navigating through various regimes and political processes. Together with publishers and printers, the libraries of the twentieth century have also played an important role in disseminating the printed word. Libraries also helped to narrow disparities within Goa. Intellectuals, both Catholic and Hindu, from the third quarter of the nineteenth century, showed an interest in promoting the reading habit to shape conscious and informed citizens.

Migration to neighbouring cities — like Bombay, but elsewhere too — opened up new possibilities. Such trends have not only shaped the number of authors who could get their works published, but also changed the balance in

terms of gender, class or caste participation in the writing and publishing process. Due to migration, and also the easy access to both technology and financial options, Bombay turned into the main centre of production of Goa's literary products in the early-to-mid twentieth century. Rochelle Pinto has argued that "Goan migrants to British India and lower-caste Goans within Goa were developing into very vocal groups who did not necessarily require the elite in their newfound role as cultural representatives of Goans as a whole" (63). Newspapers, bi-lingual publications, music, Konkani *tiatr* or stage productions, and religious texts that were directly related to Goa were more likely to come from a city like Bombay than from Goa itself. After the 1980s and 1990s, the centre of cultural and intellectual production shifted back to Goa. By the end of the twentieth century, the political changes in the region also meant a disruption of the traditional elite controls, especially among the Catholic community. This led to new and different players entering the market.

Till date, Goa remains a small market which lacks sufficient printing and publishing infrastructure, now less acute than in the past. Its dependence on the wider Indian market has declined somewhat in recent years, though the limited size of the readership here also places constraints on growth. For Goa's world of literature and books too, the Centre-Periphery model helps us understand the relationship between the dominant centre and the subordinate, periphery. This relationship has been unequal; yet perhaps also mutually beneficial to either side.

Even while authors had a tough task in getting published, publishers too faced challenges in creating viable products. Typography issues also have acted as barriers in a strongly multilingual Goa. This has been the case since the mid-sixteenth century, felt in a lesser way now. Another trend was the growth of the scholar-author-self-publisher during this period. The 'market' outside Goa has played a significant role in shaping writing in Goa. For instance, the tourism market has itself created a genre of writing that is widely noticed. Paper, staff,

technology, presses, binding, editorial skills have been other constraints in the growth of the field. Even in the twenty-first century, authors in Goa were reporting difficulties to market their work and to get it published.

Technology has acted as another lever of control. The access to technology in Goa was limited by factors such as the limited size of the market. Difficulties with fonts limited the text that could be printed in the mid-sixteenth century or even created a new script in one case. The limitations of a small and non-affluent nation like Portugal, though European, in accessing technology in those times also had its impact elsewhere along the time-line. Post-1961 constraints on imports from overseas due to the import substitution policy and limitations on the availability of foreign exchange then played its role. So did the limited demand for books due to limited supply.

Politics of the era — including the dictatorship, one-party rule in the Portuguese era of twentieth-century Goa; the power-sharing with a section of Goans in the colonial state in a manner which was different from the British experience; changing roles assigned to social classes post-1961 — were all factors that played a role in the shaping of the market for the printed word in Goa. Growing literacy in Goa after the end of Portuguese rule meant a spurt in the market for the printed word, including books. Newspapers were run both on more professional and more capitalist lines in this era. But this also meant a shift in the language used, the sidelining of sections of the old elite, and populism based on a critique of caste even while not entirely unsettling caste-based hegemonies. In earlier times, class-based controls played a role in printing in Goa. For instance, journalists who were active in Goa at the end of the twentieth century, such as the late Flaviano Dias formerly of the Press Trust of India, have argued that the history of the twentieth-century periodicals and newspapers in Goa under the Portuguese was virtually a history of conflict among the top-two dominant Catholic castes of the times, the Brahmins and Chardos (Flaviano Dias).

In *Filomena's Journeys*, Couto has explained the role of caste prevalent in newspapers during her grand-parents' times:

The fact that their [Couto's] maternal grandfather wrote for A India Portuguesa rather than O Ultramar makes for endless speculation among those of Crisologo's grandchildren who are interested in Goan history. The latter weekly was established and run by the powerful Costa family of Margão and regarded as the voice of the Brahmins, who supported the Partido Ultramarino, (the Overseas Party). A India *Portuguesa*, on the other hand, was established and run by the equally powerful Chardo family, the Loyolas, who were aligned with Pardido Indiano (the Indian Party). Chardo was the term used for Kshatriyas after conversions. Both the newspapers were led by powerful editors and writers whose prose, alternatively luminous and coruscating, sparkled during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. Their caste animosities and personal battles contributed to each side collaborating with the Portuguese establishment when it suited them, the most famous being the election of 1890 which led to the shooting of innocent citizens who had come to vote in the municipal elections. (13-14)

Rekha Mishra suggests that some of the Marathi publications "were supporters of their own caste interests" (161). This experience is comparable to that of the Portuguese periodicals, It could be argued that the presses reinforced class-caste control and hegemony for much of Goa's history, rather than resulting in a more egalitarian society as witnessed in some European cases.

Access to printing and the control over the ownership of presses are other issues which one gets glimpses from the print history of Goa. Who could afford access to printing is an issue that has undoubtedly affected the literary output. Till the 1960s at least, only the very affluent, such as members of professions like medicine and law, could afford to take to journalism in Goa; that was because the press hardly paid any direct financial compensation to those working on it. The cost of getting into print, and publishing one's books, is another factor that controlled access to the sector. Through options brought on by migration, some diasporic Goans were able to access the printed word through alternative routes. This was the experience of writer Bonaventure D'Pietro, the author of over 18 books in Konkani, many on murder and suspense, who remembers being bestowed the sobriquet of the James Hadley Chase of Konkani writing ("The James Hadley Chase" 00:30–00:48). He got some of his novels composed himself and typeset through the old and slow metal process. After his shift as a proof-reader at *The Examiner* press, D'Pietro would personally arrange to typeset his books in the hours when the press remained shut, from 6 p.m. to midnight while an emigrant in Bombay between 1963 and 1978 (05:18–06:04).

Goa sits at the peculiar crossroads. On the one hand, there has been a limited amount of organised book publishing happening; and yet, this does not seem to hamper new titles making it to print. Considering the reality of the past, looking beyond Goa as a market, could make a lot of sense. Considering the limited size of the local market, some amount of voluntarism could also help build the space for the book in Goa. Support and subsidies can take local book publishing ahead up to a point, but beyond that what is needed is creating and widening markets, readers and distribution. Translations could play a significant role in a language like Portuguese in Goa, at this point of time especially. Collaboration holds a key. Alliances are needed between those who have language skills, marketers, publishers and educators to enter wider markets which could open new potential.

Insights from the research

The thesis informs us about the links between authorship and the product to emerge. This relationship also becomes clear on considering factors, such as

the politics of early access to printing, colonial control and motivations playing out in the printing world and the impact of harsh restrictions on printing in Goa. It focuses on publishing battles and challenges of the nineteenth century, and, in the twentieth century, the distance of authors from publishers and difficulties to access them. Other issues it raises in the Goa context are the multiplicity of languages prevalent, and the pressures on authorship in a small market. Because of the wide range of realities involved, Goa presents itself as an interesting case for study.

Relationship of the current study to prior research: The thesis supplements the limited number of studies done on the book in Goa, by adding the dimension of non-literary influences in literary creation. It also takes up a detailed overview of the book in Goa and focuses on the twentieth century, not all of which has been covered in such studies. It adds to our knowledge of the history of the book in Goa, and some other Portuguese-influenced areas of the region.

Theoretical implications of the study: Emerging realities of the situation of the book in Goa support the idea that Core-Periphery analysis is relevant to the world of books as well. The thesis takes forward the correlation between the works of an author and non-literary factors which shape the impact and reach of the work.

Explanation of unanticipated findings: Below are some findings and the possible explanations for the same.

- The drastic swings in the fate and fortunes of the book in Goa can be adequately explained by correlating the same with the changing role of Goa within the 'core' or the 'periphery' of the world of book publishing and printing.
- The changing fortunes of the book in Goa can be explained through other means as well. Portuguese rule in Goa has not been a single, uninterrupted

trend of policies and politics. Portuguese colonial approaches to Goa have changed during different forms of regimes – from monarchy to Republican; pro-Church and theocratic to anti-clerical with periods during which powerful religious Orders were banned in the colonial state too; direct rule by Portugal shifted to the times when Portugal itself was under the sovereignty of Spain, or Lisbon's government coming under the influence of France or Britain or even periods when some natives in the colony were given a share of power. This also explains the shifting approaches by the colonial state towards the book in Goa.

- The decision to situate the first Gutenberg-type printing press in Asia in Goa has been largely interpreted as the result of accidents of history. But it undeniably also was in part an echo of the Portuguese recognition of Goa as a gateway of its interests in Asia and parts of Africa — including knowledge gathering and dissemination.
- Goa's larger-than-life role in the world of the printed word stands out for several understandable reasons. Authors in a small region like Goa writing in as many as 18 or more languages, and getting their work out sometimes through publishers in diverse global destinations, can be explained both by the diasporic nature of Goan society as also the role Goa has played in points of history as a "capital of Empire" (Carreira 567).

Implications for practice: From the thesis, one gets an understanding of the pressures faced in the literature-creation process, and its dependence on factors emerging from near and far. This holds not for Goa alone, but also for other regions in the globe which may be small and which lie beyond the dominant discourse. The thesis suggests the need for such regions to (i) understand their histories and peculiarities (ii) to appreciate what trends have shaped them (iii) to study the means and strategies by which their publishing sectors could be supported, based both on past experiences and their

limitations (iv) to acknowledge how and where market solutions alone will not work for this field (v) to undertake comparative work among such smaller regions, the knowledge about which often faces historical erasure. In the field of theory, the number of open-ended questions that remain suggests that Goa could be a suitable location for far more work on the history of the book and related fields.

Recommendations for further research: The thesis attempts to build a wider understanding of literary production in Goa, in the context of its wider interconnections between literature, society, politics, economics and technology. It sees this as a crucial field that helps understand not just the printed word in this small, though sometimes influential, region in global history, but also the wider reality of this region itself.

This work only touches on a limited period of Goan history, one which is more easily accessible because of its proximity. Besides it is marked by its limitations of language and does not touch on issues beyond its scope. There is a need for further detailed studies dealing with the diverse languages in which the people of Goa have written. Likewise, a closer look at the printed word as well as oral literature of Goa across its history could be a challenging and daunting, yet much needed, task to be undertaken. The world of diaspora writing from Goa is also yet to be adequately understood in all its dimensions. Much of such work still goes largely unnoticed back at home, despite the considerable work done elsewhere in this field at some levels. The role of the women of Goa in capturing and transmitting its 'story' deserves a further, detailed analysis; just because this role is not immediately visible, or is seen as lacking in the formalised printed works, it cannot be assumed to have not existed. The role of the book in both the 'Old Conquest' or Velhas Conquistas and the 'New Conquest' or Novas Conquistas areas of Goa could be productively studied independently and in contrast to and comparison with one another. This is all the more relevant, given the very different histories that both these areas have encountered over the past

five centuries. Considerable more work is needed by the current generation in Goa to understand, reclaim and reassess the field of Goan writing in Portuguese, a field which is currently significantly under-studied except by a few scholars who are themselves mostly located in centres far beyond this region. Just over three decades ago, this journey began in a small room which today is a ward or lab of the Goa Medical College and Hospital at Bambolim. Department of English Professor Ashok K. Joshi asked this researcher a one-sentence question: "Would there be enough material to work on that subject?" The topic being considered at that time was 'The Image of Goa in Writing in English'.

Maybe it was uncertainty which turned that attempt into a non-starter. The Goa University had then only freshly been set up ("The Goa University Act"). Its first batch studied for their Master's between 1985 and 1987 — though due to some legal complications, the early batch ended up with University of Bombay degrees. Books on Goa were few and far between, and not easily accessible too. The communication did not continue; silence earned its answer.... Later on, Professor Peter R. de Souza, then heading the Department of Political Science, was willing to discuss the possibility of a PhD on an interdisciplinary topic; but life was still busy then. Sometime just before 2013, while all plans had been dropped, the chance for doing research came up yet again. Is third time lucky?

The Goa University was widening its PhD admissions, and this story starts there. With deep gratitude, one needs to acknowledge the very patient Dr André Rafael Fernandes, both a generous guide and an extremely helpful friend, for making sure I stayed on track during this long journey. He did so despite the many distractions and understandable preoccupations with a range of other fields that one has been involved with. He had the right mix of encouragement, friendly urgings and soft-spoken firmness. Prof Rafael, as he is better known, was an ideal guide in the six-and-a-half long years of part-time work — which seemed to drag on, understandably testing his patience. His encouraging style went a long way in permitting me to explore the territory on which little work had been done. Prof Rafael's care with the formal requirements ensured that I did not run foul of any administrative requirements. His meticulous manner of fine-tooth combing my work helped a great deal. His family — Nirmala, Krish and Joshua — were more than very helpful friends. To find a guide with his patience and generosity is rare; this was indeed one of the most special aspects of this journey. It did help that Prof. Rafael and this researcher had been classmates at some stage; a privilege one hopes to have not taken unfair advantage of.

The African Igbo–Yoruba proverb has it that 'It takes a village to raise a child.' One could adapt this to also say: it takes a village — and more — to complete a thesis. There are many whose role in this work needs to be acknowledged, and without whom it would have never come about. The researcher alone is responsible for its shortcomings.

First of all my deeply-felt gratitude goes to all my teachers and my guides. But since this work deals with the book, an object that has for some unexplained reason has fascinated one since the age of eight or nine when one would not only collect books but also try to bind them at home, I would especially like to thank all the librarians in my life. They created my world, they shaped my understanding of reality and they moulded my thinking. In another text, I have already acknowledged the role of Alex Almeida, the librarian in the 1970s at St Britto at Mapusa, my high school. Mr Almeida had this style of almost conspiratorially whispering his book recommendations. "Boys, you should read *Biggles*. It's very good." he'd sometimes say very softly, almost conspiratorially. While doing so, he would be nudging us in the direction of o the book-series for young readers that glamorised war through the life of the fictional India-born British pilot and adventurer. This happened over one generation after the *Biggles* series was first written, and a decade after its author W.E. Johns had left the earth. It might seem that a schoolboy in Goa couldn't be further removed

from the life of a British "hero" in World War I, portrayed in a series of books written by a pilot of that vintage. Who would have thought that the *Biggles* series would later face accusations of racism, inconsistency, and the inability to grapple with political and social change. That is entirely another issue; Mr Almeida's laudable intention was to get us schoolboys hooked onto reading.

Then, there also was a small library at the Saligão Institute. In the Goa of the 1970s, books were a scarce commodity and even the rare bookshop at Mapusa had few to no books for children. Yet, our village community library had been generously supported by significant book donations from expatriate villages living in Bombay. These opened new vistas to us, living in a sleepy village where the newspaper from the nearby metro took a good 36 hours to reach. Some years later, at the Goa University, the library was my first preferred home within the campus in my student days in 1985-87. Studying English Literature to me, then, was more a way of continuing within the field of Journalism, which one had already entered. Even a 15-minute break was enough to send one scurrying to the periodicals' section of the GU library, then located conveniently just one floor beneath our classroom. The librarians and their assisting staff of those times — V.R. Navelkar, Bhurye, Panjikar, John, Vasanti Shettigar and others — are still etched on one's mind. Not only did they provide speedy access to knowledge in those pre-Internet days, but also helped create many a pleasurable evening filled with discovery, information and that quaint fragrance of the printed page. Dr V. Gopakumar, the Librarian at the GU, has also been always helpful, supportive and optimistic while sharing knowledge.

During the academic year 2017-18, this researcher took the unexpected decisions of spending two semesters as a temporary Assistant Professor at the Goa University's Department of English. This turned out to be a very pleasant year in my life, despite never consciously desiring to be in the field of teaching. Together with Prof Dr André Rafael Fernandes, mentioned above, my other colleagues were the then Head of Department Professor Dr Nina Caldeira,

former HoD Professor Dr K. Sripad Bhat, Dr Anjali Chaubey and Assistant Professor Nafisa Oliveira. They were a pleasure to work with. One is particularly grateful for the space they created to express oneself and teach subjects related to journalism, editing, book publishing, creative writing, Latin American literature and Goa, all of interest to me. Very special words of appreciation are due to my students of 2017-18, from whom one learnt so much. They were consistently kind, curious and very cooperative. With them, I discovered that teaching could be soul-satisfying; though not meant for the long term for a restless soul like oneself. They rekindled my faith in the youth of Goa. It was fun thrusting responsibility on them and seeing them invariably rise to the occasion. Likewise, they showed how determined they were to do better despite all the handicaps. These included distance (quite a few students travelled from deep in interior Goa), challenges to access cyberspace, and Goa's own peculiar but not unhelpful multilingual setting which in this case, however, meant some of them might have been first-generation speakers of English undertaking their Master's degrees. They harnessed their skills to organise poetry meets, worked enthusiastically on the creative writing process, where some shone, and vivaciously went on our memorable field trips. To each one of them, a very sincere word of gratitude.

In addition to the Department of English colleagues and students, one also needs to acknowledge the then Head of Department of English, Dr Kiran Budkuley, who in 2013 generously welcomed me as a research student after one had spent almost an entire working life out of academia. One cannot overlook the VC's Nominee on the English Department's FRC or Faculty Research Committee, Prof. Maria Isabel de Santa Rita Vás. Her style of consistently encouraging students and researchers, and the support she has always held out, was invaluable.

It was also a very pleasant learning opportunity to interact often with the other staff from departments next door. An extra-special thanks to Natasha

Maria Gomes and Irene C. Silveira of the Department of French; Delfim Correia da Silva, Lorraine Alberto, Dhruv Usgaonkar and Scarlett Ava Fernandes of the Department of Portuguese; Pranab Mukhopadhyay of Economics; Rahul Tripathi of Political Science; my old FOSS or Free and Open Source Software friends Murali Tapaswi, the officer on special duty at the Internal Quality Assurance Cell, and 'Jana' of Botany; Shaila de Souza and Sulochana Pednekar of Women's Studies; late associate professor Alito Siqueira of the Department of Sociology who offered useful pointers and hints early on in my research about the field of the Sociology of the Book, among others. During the FRC discussions, one also got the chance to interact with and learnt a lot from the other colleague-researchers. One recalls the June 2017 workshop for researchers at the Goa University. This built links among us which we still maintain online and in the real world.

To all those who spared their time in helping one collate the data for this work, I owe you a deep debt. You have gifted your time and knowledge generously, by way of interviews, inputs, the books you authored, and a lot more. Among these were outlets like the crucial, especially in an expatriate setting, Jack of All Book Stall at the Byculla Church compound. There, I found a treasure trove of Romi Konkani books published ages ago, after looking around curiously despite the owner's insistence that there were none left behind. To a researcher and avid collector of Goa books, this was like a mix between finding Ali Baba's treasure trove as also an alley to a forgotten past we can only otherwise dream about. Besides Byculla, there was the Costa family with traces of their age-old printing press in Margão; the prominent Tipografia Rangel of Bastora; the soft-spoken and modest Bonaventure D'Pietro, who specially offered his insights into expatriate Goan publishing in twentieth-century Bombay in the context of very limited publishing facilities in India in those times; Luís de Santa Rita Vás, who continued to silently and bereft of the limelight work on his many books away in Bombay/Mumbai; Leroy Veloso, for his constant exchange of books;

Terence Rodrigues for his librarianship-suffused friendship; among others.

Nothing would make sense about my unintended information search if one did not specifically mention one of the early influencers who helped me embark on it even before we got to know each other, Dr Robert S. Newman of Marblehead, Mass. near Boston. After a modest college career, one embarked on my post-graduate part-time studies even while being employed in a journalistic job. While doing my MA, this researcher got smitten by the bug of understanding Goa, a mission which continues till this day. Sometime in 1986 or 1987, one still vividly recall encountering the essay by 'Bob' Newman at the GU library's periodicals section. Newman, then at La Trobe University in Melbourne, Australia, had recently got published an academic paper called 'Goa: The Transformation of an Indian Region'. It was hard to believe that an entire 18-page essay had as its focus our tiny region, Goa, and that too in a global journal. After reading it, I sent Prof. Newman an aerogramme letter tightly packed with as many typewritten questions as it could carry, comments, and disagreements. We subsequently became friends, visited each other's temporary residences at Assolna and Nerul, and took the trip to the Fatorpa *sontreo* festival together. 'Bob' continued to be a crucial influence in shaping my understanding of Goa, and was perhaps the main spark for one wanting to study this field more closely.

Dr Nandkumar Kamat is someone I knew, albeit from a distance, as a young student leader of the Dempo College of Commerce and Economics. In the nascent GU, we have been good friends over the decades. I particularly recall that late evening at the Goa University canteen in April 2018 when we got talking. In a short while, he filled me in on the intellectual history of the Goa of our youth, including the birth and role of the Goa Philosophical Society, based at the Dhempe College of Arts & Science in the 1980s. Because of his vast knowledge and his genuine love of the written word, I could, and can, always learn so much from even a brief exchange with him.

If there is another soul to whom one's intellectual search owes much to, it

is Dr Pramod Kale. One first encountered him as a young student. We kept in touch over the decades, till his untimely death in June 2013, after either a road accident or a mugging incident in early March 2013 (M. Kale). Dr Kale was a great raconteur, told stories with elan, and seemed grateful to find an eager-if-interrupting audience even in me. His piece on the *tiatr* in the EPW (P. Kale) came at a time when Goa did not yet find it fit to undertake an academic study of such themes. Kale mentioned how some of the Marathi literature published from Portuguese-ruled Goa in or around the 1950s was seen in genteel Pune as a kind of soft erotica, if also luring and attractive to a certain youthful audience. He specifically recalled the translations by Laxmanrao Sardessai, and another story set in Goa of the village Brahmin lusting after the cobbler's wife, as he sees her bathing by the well (P. Kale "...Talking..." 20:04–24:08). The woman is, simultaneously, seductive because of her physical charms, youth and beauty and yet verboten due to caste hierarchies and endogamy. This story of the irresistible lure of the forbidden fruit running into caste barriers emerged in an India where new forms of post-Independence Puritanism were also taking root.

One of the early researchers who visited my fledgeling 'Goa library', and whom I learnt from, was ANU's of Canberra Dr Caroline Ifeka; sadly we've been out of touch for many years. Dr Eddie D'Sa, statistician based in Wimbledon, London, and earlier with the Makerere University of Uganda, which used to be the University of East Africa, shared insights through his interesting *Goan Overseas Digest* magazine. Debashish Munshi was one's colleague and friendly *Times of India* 'rival' during one's early days as an outstation correspondent for the *Deccan Herald* of Bangalore. His 'Know Your Goa' Sunday drives helped us understand more of the diversity of this small but complex state. Dadu Mandrekar, Goa's prominent activist and Dalit leader, who succumbed to Covid-19 even as this work was being finalised, was part of some of these ventures, as was our colleague Prakash 'PWK' Kamat. While on understanding

Goa, it was a year-long stint as an articled clerk under T.S. Mahadevan, Chartered Accountant, and my colleagues Sandip Bhandare and Oswald Chagas da Silva, that took me to various areas of Goa for the first time.

A big thanks to friends in academia who, from a distance – in ways known and unknown – inspired me to undertake and continue this work. In particular, very many thanks to Sandra Ataíde Lobo and Biserka Č. Mitrovic (then research scholars) and Tara Brabazon of Flinders University. Their approach to their work was inspiring. Sandra Ataíde Lobo kept in touch ever since a chance two-minute meeting at the Central Library; her research interests overlap with one's own. We must have exchanged hundreds of emails, and her insights are always valuable. Tara Brabazon's vlogs or video-logs on various aspects of undertaking a PhD were both inspiring and informational. Likewise, it was the work of Philip G. Altbach, who researched publishing in India as a young scholar, in the 1970s, that inspired and informed my study early on and offered very useful insights. He was kind enough to respond to each email. A sincere thanks to scholars based in Goa who showed genuine interest in my work — historians Celsa Pinto and Sushila Sawant Mendes, Prema Rocha of the Department of English at St. Xavier's College, Mapusa. They were most supportive throughout. Roanna Gonsalves connected to conduct an interview, joined the GoaWriters, and shared time and moral support at a conference we were jointly at. Ulrike Rodrigues, likewise, got in email touch, joined the GoaWriters, borrowed a cycle, and rewrote a book which we eventually published. It was sad to hear of her untimely death in Canada, just as this text was being finalised. The last two represent writers of the Goan diaspora, many of whom have become friends and guides, and shaped one's own vision of the subject. A thanks to Rowena Robinson, Rochelle Pinto, Bernadette Gomes for their friendship and kindness. Student politics of the Goa of the 1970s and 1980s shaped our generation. For that, a 'thank you' to the radical idealism of those times, not all lost, especially to friends Lester Fernandes and Thälmann Pradeep Pereira. These were two

gentlemen and comrades, who passed away, alas, too early. To feminist friend Albertina Almeida; the XCHR team Anderson and 'Tony Da'; the late Edward D'Lima; Prof Ave Cleto Afonso; and Ananya Chakravarti for their insightful work. Likewise, to the information and insight that came in through online fora like Goanet, PreLoved Books groups, the Diaspora and Skills groups and so many more; Chartered accountant Agnelo Remedios has been ever helpful and obliging. S Mary Morrison in Saligão and Fatima Pais in Delhi reinforced my belief in serendipity, by gifting exactly the right book at exactly the right moment, probably without even realise it themselves. *Deo borem korum*.

To every Goa book in my 2000+ strong collection, and the myriad authors, a very big *deo borem korum* as well. My understanding and awareness of Goa would have been minuscule without each of these knowledge artefacts. Goa, in reality, we are often reminded, is nothing more than the average Indian-sized district. But its history, its role across the century as a meeting — and clashing point of cultures, and its huge diaspora make it a colourful and complex place with many stories to tell. As Professor Kenneth David Jackson, the Yale Professor of Portuguese specialising in Portuguese and Brazilian literatures and Portuguese culture in Asia, has argued that Goa is

an exemplary land *between cultures*, multilingual and multicultural... In the sixteenth century, Goa became the focal point of an oceanic empire extending East in voyages to Malacca, Macau, the Sunda Islands and Japan and West across the Indian Ocean to Mozambique and Brazil. Situated alongside an ancient oceanic world of trade extending from Rome to China, and with a history of miscegenation and trade, Goa's demography anticipated and prefigured the global multi-ethnic diaspora of today. (8)

We are only pygmies who perch on the shoulders of giants. Without access to all this knowledge, opinion, creativity and insights created by others, it would

have been impossible to even conceptualise this work in 'my' thesis. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the work of the late head of the Central Library and bibliographer Aleixo Manuel Costa, whose four volumes have been an invaluable source of information. Costa painstakingly tracked down references to books published by twentieth-century authors from Goa, and those during other time-frames too. It was the Fundação Oriente, through their Delegate in India in Panjim, whom I am grateful to, for gifting me a set of these slickly-produced, bound large tomes in times when I did not have the widest clue of the topic of research I would one day embark on. Likewise, one's copy of the out-of-print Scholberg *et. al.* bibliography has become battered due to frequent referencing over the past many months. Another valuable set of books have been the Goa University bibliographies of the Dr Pissurlencar and Nuno Gonsalves collections; arguably these have been unfairly and quite overlooked for their potential in understanding the book in the Goa of previous decades.

Many are the influences that shape us as individuals. I cannot forget the newspapers that I worked for, both as staff and freelancer. The *Herald* in Goa was then just shifting over to English in 1983. It was owned then too by the J.D. Fernandes Group, later by the grandson of the founder of that business family, Raul Fernandes, and edited by Rajan Narayan. We had to good fortune to also work under seniors like S. Vaidyanathan and Devika Sequeira. They guided us raw hands into understanding the many intricacies of producing a modern broadsheet. The professional connect with Devika has lasted over decades. S. Valmiki Faleiro would have been a senior too; but that was not to be. Yet, he continued to support and encourage one's endeavours after we met up two decades later. At the *O Heraldo/Herald*, the working conditions might have been trying and the remuneration lacking. Yet, we got the most rigorous training possible. Then, there was the *Deccan Herald*, whose editor-in-chief K.N. Harikumar was extremely generous in allowing me the space to grow. Among other seniors and colleagues one would like to specially mention were John

Thomas, the Chief of News Bureau, whom we out-stationers directly reported to, Nagabhushana Rao, and veterans like *Babu* B.R.P. Bhaskar, among others. The Indo-Asian News Service — then a part of the India-Abroad expatriate newspaper when I joined it in the 1990s - was another place which gave me a long stint of growth, writing-wise and workwise. Special thanks are due to editor-in-chief Tarun Basu, Vishnu Makhijani and others of IANS. The Telegraph, especially with Sumir Lal and Sankarshan Thakur, also offered a very thrilling stint, a learning place, and my first freelance job. The other editors one needs to acknowledge were the late Janardhan Thakur, who offered Goa and me a lot of space in his Free Press Journal days, and Padma Prakash, editor at the Economic and Political Weekly who pushed me into doing more than I would have thought myself capable of. More recently, Robin D'Souza, Shamiro Diniz and the CCR TV team have been great supporters and good friends. In the mid-1990s, on the day after Christmas 1994 to be precise, when, against all advice, one decided to quit a full-time job and go freelance, it was environmentalist friends Dr Claude and Norma Alvares of the TWN Features who offered a suitable toehold in freelancing. This turned into a field one enjoyed for many years subsequently. The Alvareses had also founded the Other India Book Store, OIBS, a mail-order book store which they ran in times when our world had not yet even conceived the idea of an idea of Amazon.com or a Flipkart. This venture serviced the market in several not-so-large Indian cities and towns, which lacked bookshops of their own. It gave us access to new books and plentiful ideas, and in turn, through the Other India Press, also spurred on publishing and bookselling activity in the State called Goa.

So many cyber friends deserve to be thanked, for what they did and some for what they should not have done. To the Wikipedia, I am grateful for the 'net practise' the institution gave me, in building skills in collating and citing information. Then there also were networks like Goanet, founded a quarter-century ago by a 17-year-old who grew into being a rare

doctor-cum-engineer, Herman Carneiro. It lent a new meaning and vivacity to our intellectual life, in times when the social media was not yet a catchphrase and gave us access to new friends and contacts the world over.

This is also an extremely grateful thank you to my many mentors in life. Among them is a mentor from college-days Fermin D'Souza SJ and friend Caroline Collaço, the many fellow-travellers at the Free and Open Source Software networks FSUG-Goa and ILUG-Goa, the educational institutions that shaped me including Lourdes Convent, Saligão; St Britto, Mapusa; St Xavier's, Mapusa; Dempo College, Panjim; the Directorate of Correspondence Courses at the University of Bombay; the English Department of the Goa University; IIJ-Berlin, then in West Germany; Fojo-Kalmar in Sweden. Alumni networks of SXC, Lou Con and Brittos shared their their warmth and love; a special tribute to classmates whose friendships revolved around books. I also need to thank all my many English teachers (particularly Ivan Rocha), who, without me even realising it, inculcated an interest in this subject, in reading, in quizzing and so many other things.

Institutions are also the stepping stones through which we gain so much, often in unappreciated ways. One would like to especially thank the Jesuit twins of Porvorim, the Xavier Centre of Historical Research and the Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr, together with the Krishnadas Shama Central Library and in particular the library's helpful and ever obliging Curator Carlos Fernandes.

My journalist colleagues from many points of the newspaper trail have been part of my growing process. I would like to particularly thank my colleagues, friends and friendly 'rivals' and partners in the world of publishing. In particular, Khalil Ahmed of the Broadway Book Centre in Panjim; Walberg and Filu Coutinho of Confident-Golden Heart Emporium in Margao, Leonard Fernandes and Queenie Rodrigues of the Cinnamon Teal–DogEarsetc.com in Margão, also organisers of the excellent PublishingNext series of seminars (PublishingNext); José Lourenço of Velim and Pantaleão Fernandes of Benaulim.

If it was not for them, along with Cecil Pinto, who met me on a Panjim street sometime in 2005, and expressed surprise why I was not headed in the same direction as them, I would have perhaps never been part of two short courses on book publishing run by the National Book Trust–India. This very useful training was what started my journey in publishing, kept my interest alive, and only underlined that a single step can lead to many interesting journeys.

During the research, a WhatsApp group of other research scholars shared their ideas and inspiration, for which many thanks. For the fellowship of the Researchers@GU group, thanks to all the friends there, in particular Vasudha and Priya. During the time of my thesis completion, I would like to thank a couple of institutions which one got involved with – despite not planing to – the 90-year-young Saligão Institute and the Wikipedians of Goa User Group.

Libraries and institutions which offered an insight into the field definitely need to be acknowledged and thanked. The Wikipedia has played a role in my life, being a contributor to it, for over a decade-and-a-half. For sure, I have learned far more than the many 'edits' and photographs contributed to it. In 2019, the Creative Commons made it possible for me to visit Lisbon, a city with a long an dcomplex relationship with ours. That was also the occasion for a visit to the Biblioteca National de Portugal, in the Campo Grande area of the Portuguese capital. The library had earlier operated in the Chiado square, with its music and shops and crowds, for thirteen decades. Incidentally, this was the locality where a chance visit permitted one to visit the oldest functioning bookshop in the world, Livraria Bertrand. That too is not without a Goa connect, mentioned earlier.

To a low-profile, modest yet great scholar of a Jesuit priest, António Pereira SJ, go my sincere thanks and gratitude. We met when one was a young journalist and him, an elderly priest, without one then fully realising the depth and vision of his literary contribution.

Dr William R da Silva, another priest-scholar, was a good friend as a young

Sociology lecturer at the Goa University. One recalls with fond memories the long discussions when on a small Bajaj M-80, en route to what then seemed like distant Pernem for a Konkani literary conference.

Author Alan Machado and his ever-smiling wife Zina have long been friends. Alan has been quick to point out to me Goa's blind spot when it comes to acknowledging its diaspora in Mangalore, one of its earliest and perhaps its largest.

Thanks go out to the 265 or so young children who quite regularly visited my free lending library between April 2018 and January 2020. They taught me a great deal about book-reading habits, changing tastes, and how we could try to keep reading alive in subsequent generations.

One needs to acknowledge the 'history of the book' circuit in India and beyond, which seeded and nourished ideas in this field. Among these were the experts present at a 2013 seminar organised by the University of Pune. Bookshops, including second-hand bookshops, have also played an important role in one's life. In particular, a big thank you for all the inspiration to Broadway in Panjim which helped me to enter this field, Bookworm in Panjim, Literati in Calangute, OIBS in Mapusa, Select Bookshop at Bangalore and the others already mentioned. They nourished my love for reading, my faith in the printed word, and a continuing and abiding interest in studying this topic. Without my cyber-friends, especially networks like the Goa-Book-Club, and two versions of the GoaWriters, my understanding of our world would have been far more inadequate. Likewise, thanks to the many authors whom I worked with, in the course of publishing their books, especially to the kind, late Silvia Bragança, who passed away due to Covid in 2020. Peter Nazareth's work has long been an inspiration, and, without doubt, his anthology shaped my thinking. Eufemiano Miranda's work on Portuguese literature in Goa opened new vistas, as did Lucio Rodrigues' writing on Goa, and the encyclopaedic knowledge of Dr Jose Pereira. Young authors like Brenda Coutinho were also a pleasure to work with.

One needs to place on record my deep sense of obligation to that motley crowd in getting me started reading and encouraging me to keep doing so. The two educators were my English school-teacher 'Sir' Ivan Rocha, an amazing mentor, inspiring teacher, prankster and a man who left his mark on so many he encountered. One might have forgotten the hundreds of school classes in English, or what was taught to us in grammar. But it's hard to ever forget the buzz and excitement created on the day when 'Sir' Ivan brought to our class a cassette player, unfamiliar technology to many of us in Goa in the mid-1970s. He went on to play the soundtrack of *My Fair Lady*.

My late mother, Felicia Coutinho de Noronha, bless her generous spirit of giving, would never say no whenever I pestered her to buy a comic or a children's storybook. She would invariably pick up more than the one I expected whenever she passed the Varsha Book Stall in Panjim, on her way to work as a nurse-matron at a hospital located around the corner from there. Thanks and gratitude also go out to my aunt Natty Rodrigues, my mum's sister who was more than a fairy godmother. She encouraged my every whim and hobby, from sketch-pens and markers to books on card tricks, and even a lovely 21st birthday set of journalism books by The Sunday Times ex-editor Harold Evans. It was her gift of *The Beano*, *Bunty* and other British children's magazines that saw one get into print as a child. I still remember walking to our village Bank of India branch with a British Postal Order for a princely fifty pence in hand, after contributing an essay there. Thinking while on the road how pleasurable it could be to earn from a field one loved — reading and writing. My grandmother, whom I never met personally, based in the United States for much of her life, might have been stricter in pandering to our early whims, but her regular letters and genuine pride she took in our every small achievement played its role in egging us on, as did my Dad's joy in seeing us attaining our modest goals. To him the two subsequent generations of Noronhas owe our gene of dogged determination, I suspect. In the 1970s, as a schoolboy, on a rare occasion when I walked up the

village hill with my father, he proudly told me that one could see as many as seventeen villages from that vantage point. He might have been right He started counting the villages, but as far as my young mind could recognise, did not complete the task. Probably he was not too far wrong. Today, the village hill has been transformed. The once placid place is home to an industrial estate and garbage dump. In the distance, hills of green, or brown, can be seen scarred with signs of Goa's post-1990s lucrative yet unsightly real estate boom. The reason for narrating this aside is to underline how little we still understand about our home. About how fast-changing our landmarks, our culture and even our literature can be in a region like Goa. As I write these lines, my thoughts veer to my dad for another reason. He inculcated in me a deep desire to understand Goa, respect its diversity, and to have regard for Amchi Bhas. This was our "Our Language", even if we struggled with it as children, due to our diasporic background and early years in Brazil. Amchi Bhas was how Konkani was then referred to by him and Catholics of his generation, like his step-aunt Clementina Saldanha, a very kind, hard-working and generous figure from our childhood. Likewise, it was my maternal Uncle Gerry, and the Fernandes sisters, our senior schoolmates, who nurtured a love for Konkani music, through records bought and radio listened to, respectively. A *deo borem korum* to the other members of our small family, especially Ezilda Saldanha, the Coutinhos and Rodrigueses, and the latter's Colvale family.

These words of debt-repayment would be incomplete if I did not acknowledge the support of my family, in particular for the space created for me to undertake this and other work. Pamela D'Mello has supported many of my initiatives over the years. She also supported or tolerated a lot of the outlandish activities which stirred a soul-nurturing need within me. From running a home library to entering the risky world of freelancing while still in my early thirties. To investing one-fifth of what was then my entire life savings in a 'high-speed' 14.4 kbps modem, a crawling speed compared to what we are accustomed to

today but which allowed me to get a good start in freelance journalism, and also during the launch of Goa, 1556 — a rather challenging but much-needed venture in the Goa of the first decade of the twenty-first century. Aren, in his school-leaving year as I write this, would conveniently turn the tables on me and point out that he was "not doing a PhD" whenever I would badger him to put in some more hours of study. Riza, with all the rich people-skills she has been gifted with, had her quiet way of offering her solid support and undiluted empathy. That too, even if she was studying five hundred kilometres away. A special thanks to my mother-in-law, Cira D'Mello, whose calming presence was always a blessing. My brother Americo 'Ricky' and sister-in-law Clare have encouraged and supported me to continue whatever endeavours I've opted for, however bizarre, unusual or intrusive. I'm sure my parents, first-generation diploma holders, would have been proud had they been around, as would my grand-mother, Maria C. Noronha. She was one of the early Goans to migrate in the 1950s to the Bronx and then to Phoenicia, N.Y., in the United States, as a humble nanny-housekeeper, being widowed young, never to make it back home ...

To all those who have indeed shaped this work but whose contribution I have somehow overlooked, I am indeed very thankful. A work that brings together existing knowledge and information cannot be the work of a single author. This work would have been impossible without your inputs, your help and inspiration, and your guidance handed over to me so generously over the past five-and-half decades. I record my debt to each one here.

Note: No editor has been used in the construction of this thesis. As such, the researcher accepts the responsibility for any errors, typos, oversights and shortcomings that may have crept into this text, despite efforts to minimise the same. -EN.J.N

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APPENDICES

A. Marking Time: A timeline of the printed word in Goa

S INCE the printing press reached Goa in the year 1556, making it the first place in Asia to get access to the Gutenberg-based technology which revolutionised the spread of information in Europe a century earlier, a range of works have been printed and published here. This listing seeks to introduce the more prominent of these works, to place in context their role in shaping the intellectual discourse, and in some cases influencing the debate till this day. Below is a timeline of publications emerging from Goa.

Grammars in diverse languages, and religious texts

Publishing activity in Goa or by people from this region may be tentatively divided into four categories: (i) early grammars of diverse languages and religious texts, mainly written in Portuguese, and often by missionaries around the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (ii) books written by foreigners, which were independent of the language-missionary work (iii) the writing of Goan authors and (iv) books published since the end of Portuguese rule in 1961.

Goan lay brother André Vaz, the presumed author of the first ever grammar in Konkani, saw his text get into print in 1563. Grammarians who followed him, such as Henrique Henriques (1520-1600), Thomas Stephens (1549-1619), João de São Mathias (1595-1624), the Franciscan missionary Gaspar de Sam Miguel, Simão Alvares in the late seventeenth century, and the Czech Jesuit Karel Prikryl (1718-1785, in Goa between 1748 and 1761), are seen as having "developed their texts on the basis of the pioneering work" (Datta 1478)

As mentioned,

the first Gutenberg, movable-type printing press in all of Asia was established in what later would be known as 'Old Goa'. This made possible the printing of the *Arte de Lingua Canarim*, or the Grammar of the Canarim language, in 1640. Authored by Thomas Stephens, this book is considered to be one of the earliest works of its kind in any modern Indian language to be printed in Asia. It follows the grammatical pattern and studies the Konkani phonetics, morphology and syntax (Datta 1478).

Thomas Stephens (1549–1619), an English Jesuit, published *Doutrina Christam em*

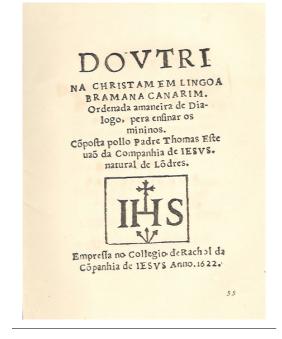


Figure 5: Facsimile of the cover of an early text.

lingua Bramana Canarim. Ordenada a maniera de dialogo pera ensinar os meninos, coposta pelo Padre Thomas Estevaõ, Jesuita natural de Lōdres. Collegio de Rachol da Companhia de Iesus 1622 (*Christian Doctrines in the Canarese Brahmin Language, arranged in dialogue to teach children, by Fr. Thomas Stephens*, of the Society of Jesus, native of London, College of Rachol of the Society of Jesus, 1622) which was the first book in Konkani ("Reviving a..."). Late Dr Madhavi Sardessai called this text the "foundation stone of Konkani studies" or *Konknni abhyasacho bunyadhicho fator*. In the same recording ("Reviving a..." 37:40), Pratap Naik refers to the controversy over whether Thomas Stephens actually wrote the works credited to him by himself. Besides such issues, other contentious questions that come up also relate to the actual language in which early authors such as Stephens wrote. Priolkar in *Printing Press in India* (17) suggests that the written language was literary Marathi.

Souza points out, that, "unlike many other Portuguese texts that did not find translators," A.K. Priolkar included a translation of Cunha Rivara in his book *The Printing Press in India* (141-236) on the fourth centenary of the introduction of Gutenberg's invention into Goa. Souza has argued that Priolkar's "interest in reprinting the *Ensaio* was aimed at using Rivara's influience and authority as a neutral voice to back his own views about Konkani as a dialect of Marathi" ("Uneasy Lies").

This debate, about texts printed in the mid-sixteenth century would continue to have its echoes in the mid-twentieth century, and beyond, shaping the language controversies which Goa has seen, particularly between 1985-87, debating the roles that languages like Konkani and Marathi should have here, or whether one is merely a dialect or spoken form of the other. Brijraj Singh has argued that Stephens is remembered "not, however, as a missionary but as a writer" (149). Singh has said that Stephens noted in a letter that the structure of language in Goa "is allied to Greek and Latin. The phrases and construction are of a wonderful kind" (150). Had this letter been well known,

scholars would surely have commented on the fact that Stephens sensed a kinship between India and classical European languages nearly two centuries before Sir William Jones was to become celebrated as the pioneer of comparative Indo-European philology. (150)

Other works were also produced by the Jesuits such as Thomas Stephens' *Krista Purana* or The Christian Purânna in 1616, 1649, and 1654. No copies of the originally printed texts survive. This work has been described a

Marathi-Konkani metrical composition, consisting of 10,962 strophes; divided into two parts treating of the Old and the New Testament respectively. *Paixao de Cristo*, or Passion of Christ, known as *Christi Vilapika* in Marathi, was written during the seventeenth century in the Marathi language and the Roman script, based on sublime pathos of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and the Chilayabal Vilapika (I. Coelho).

Otto Zwartjes, the Dutch professor of Romance and Spanish Linguistics at the University of Amsterdam, in *Portuguese Missionary Grammars in Asia, Africa and Brazil, 1550-1800* has argued that most of the early books printed in Goa were in Latin and Portuguese, but there were a "considerable number" published in Indian languages, "mainly Konkani, Canarese, Marathi, Malayalam and Tamil, and printing was even carried out in Ethiopic" (26). For an example of the latter, he cites *Magseph assetat*, or, The Whip Against Falsehoods, by António Fernandes (1570-1642), printed in 1642 at St Paul's College in Goa. At that time too, other issues over script arose, in differing forms. Though Devanagari types were cast in 1577, the *Christa Purana*, an epic poem on the life of Jesus Christ written in the literary form of the Hindu *puranas*, was published not in Devanagari, but in the Roman script in the College of Rachol in 1616 and 1649 and the College of St Paul in 1654. This was due to the clumsy shapes of the Devanagari types at the time.

From the listings below, one can also recognise a few books that were connected with issues that have shaped the Goa discourse over significant parts of the last five decades.

One of the early books printed was by the Portuguese Jewish physician, herbalist and naturalist Garcia da Orta. He was considered a pioneer in tropical medicine, pharmacognosy and ethnobotany, and working largely out of Goa and Bombay. Garcia da Orta's lengthy-titled *Colóquios dos simples e drogas he cousas medicinais da Índia e assi dalgũas frutas achadas nella onde se tratam algũas cousas tocantes a medicina, pratica, e outras cousas boas pera saber*, or

'Conversations on the simples, drugs and materia medica of India and also on some fruits found there, in which some matters relevant to medicine, practice, and other matters good to know are discussed', was published as early as 1563. It takes the form of some 57 conversations between da Orta and his imaginary colleague, Ruano. Michael Naylor Pearson, the historian who has written widely on Indo-Portuguese issues, has called the Colloquies by Garcia d'Orta "the first extensive account of disease and curing in India by a European" (Cosmopolitan 9). Pearson also makes the point that this "much translated" work was "extremely influential in Europe". Charles Ralph Boxer, a specialist in Dutch and Portuguese maritime and colonial history, has suggested that this book "probably contains more typographical errors than any other book ever issued from a printing-press. Twenty closely printed pages of *errata* are followed by the author's despairing admission: 'There are many other misprints in this book'" (13). Yet, this book is thought of as indispensable to scientists across Europe. If this book got noticed for its errors, it is also believed to have been a victim of significant plagiarism. Christavão da Costa, called by some as Cristóbal Acosta, has been accused of having included large parts of da Orta's work with minimal acknowledgement into his Spanish work titled Tractado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias orientales, or "Treatise of the drugs and medicines of the East Indies". Pearson however disagrees with this allegation, as the two books also "do differ widely" (108). Pearson has also argued that in

some ways his work is more useful to use than is d'Orta's. Costa has more on Hindu medicine, though less on Muslim, where d'Orta profited from his long association with the court of the Nizam Shahs. ("Hindu Medical Practice" 107)

Županov has pointed to the botanical knowledge produced early by Portuguese sources and how this was appropriated by others. The information produced by Garcia D'Orta and Crisóvão da Costa or Crisóbal Acosta, the

sixteenth century pioneer in studying plants in the East and their use in pharmacology, offering description of plants, medication, ethnographic material, had disappeared or a hundred or two hundred years. This was only to reappear later in other documents. For instance, it showed up in the Dutch *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, she has pointed out. In between, there were others who appropriated huge reserves of knowledge existing in the papers. Županov has argued that when such work was published, they were published under other people's names – for instance, Dutch, English, Italian names, or the names of those linked to the Propaganda Fide. Knowledge was in manuscripts, and this therefore could be easily appropriated by other people, and, once published, the name was given to the one who published it, Županov has stated (Pinto and Županov 32:08–34:48).

The impact of the colonial book, written by those who were witness to the encounter in Goa, regardless of whether the authors were Portuguese or not, is sometimes sharply visible. Castro Alves gives a hint while describing the influence of the earlier Goa-based Dutch traveller John Huygen Van Linschoten's *Itinerario*. This 1596 work was translated into English and German within two years of its publication, and, into Latin and French in 1599 and 1610 respectively. Its Dutch version was "repeatedly reprinted" and it became "a basic text for non-Portuguese travellers in the seventeenth " (154):

It was no coincidence that the Dutch maritime expeditions would begin to follow the patterns of overseas Portuguese colonialists immediately after Linschoten's return to the Netherlands. In fact, the State-General sanctioned the publication of Linschoten's Nautical Directory in 1595, and a few days later, on 2 July, the first Dutch fleet set sail from Texel in the direction of India. On this first Dutch voyage eastward, Linschoten himself was appointed one of two chief commissioners. Despite the failure of the expedition, because ice prevented the ships from reaching the Kara Sea, Linschoten and his

writings continued to guide later Dutch expeditions including the First West India Company, which he helped to found in 1606.

Many ships in the Dutch fleet carried copies of Linschoten's *Itinerario*, suggesting that it had become 'the' guide for Dutch enterprise and furnished a body of knowledge about Portuguese colonial societies to be read and reflected on by those Europeans interested in colonizing Asia, a land which remained for most Europeans *terra incognita*. (154-155)

Another trend which emerged – centuries later – is the manner in which some books virtually slipped through the cracks, because of the times they were published at, the language they were written in, or the political situation when completed. Among these could be listed Orlando da Costa's novel O Signo da Ira, and his latter works. Though first published in 1961, O Signo da Ira was barely noticed or spoken about in Goa during much of the author's lifetime. It was translated by D.A. Smith and published in Goa as *The Sign of Wrath* only in 2017. Some of Costa's other work too got neglected, more so in a Goa context. A novelist and poet who traced his paternal ancestry to Margão, Goa, and whose son became the Prime Minister of Portugal in 2015, Orlando da Costa also authored A Estrada e a Voz (1951, The Road and the Voice, a book of poems); Os Olhos sem Fronteira (1953, Eyes Without a Frontier, also verse); Sete Odes do Canto Comum (1955, Seven Odes of a Common Song, poetry); Podem Chamar-me Eurídice (1964, You Can Call me Eurídice), Canto Civil (1979); A Como Estão os Cravos Hoje? (1984, How are the Carnations Today?); Os Netos de Norton (1994, Norton's Grandchildren). His work Vocations (Evocations) was a collection of poems commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the 25 April 1974 Revolution in Portugal. Verse was a genre he took to at 15 years of age, on being encouraged by a schoolteacher in Goa, according to his obituary (Nadais). His novel O Último Olhar de Manú Miranda was published in 2000. In between

his novels, he wrote the 1971 play *Sem flores nem coroas*, set in a Catholic family amidst the last days of Portuguese rule in Goa. The Portuguese newspaper *Publico* has argued that,

In real life, Orlando da Costa never lost contact with Goa, and was, above all, a convinced sympathizer of all the independence movements, whose progress he followed very closely in the Casa dos Estudantes do Império, [a boarding] where he lived with charismatic individuals [from the Portuguese colonies in Africa] such as Agostinho Neto and Amílcar Cabral.

There are other books from Goa or by authors of Goan origin that either significantly shaped the debate or reflected the lives of persons who sharply influenced the reality of their region.

Armand de Souza (1874-1921), often described as a "Ceylonese editor" was originally from Assagão, Goa. Souza's work *Hundred days: Ceylon under martial law in 1915*. documented the race riots. He was jailed in the course of his work, which in a way shaped the debate of British colonial rule in that early period.

Neville Anthony Mascarenhas (1928-1986) was a journalist visiting then East Pakistan, and his subsequent writing in the London press exposed to the world at large the "genocide" underway in that region. Mascarenhas later wrote book-length exposes called *The Rape of Bangla Desh* (1971) and *Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood* (1986).

Two prominent Goans in Africa, involved in the freedom movement and radical politics there, were celebrated with books written on them. Pio Gama Pinto was a freedom-fighter who was assassinated in Kenya in 1963, after Independence. Sita Valles, a 26-year-old doctor, was likewise shot dead by the radical politicians, whom, shortly after independence of Angola, found not radical enough, and who accused her and her comrades of staging a coup

against them.

Likewise, books published in Goa have also shaped the discussion within the region. The Rui Gomes Pereira authored *Hindu Temples of Goa* led to some discussion online and elsewhere when a limited edition was republished in 2020; it highlights religious strife and conflict in Goa's past centuries. Same was the case with books like *Mee Konn*, which debates complex caste issues within Goa.

Below is a timeline that highlights some important milestones from the world of the book in Goa.

The timeline

Printing, for the first time in Asia using the Gutenberg movable type press, begins in Goa at the Jesuit-run Colégio de São Paulo. *Conclusiones Philosophicas* was the first text to be published.
Incidentally, it was recognised only a few decades ago that Tamil was the first Indian language to be printed, and that too in 1554 in Portugal, through the involvement of "Vicente Nazareth, Thome of the Cross and Jorge Carvalho" who are thought to be, Tamil Christians living in Lisbon (Ojeda Marín 153).

C.R. Boxer in *A tentative check-list of Indo-Portuguese Imprints,* 1556-1674 states that the first book printed in Goa was *Conclusões de logica e philosophia,* at the Colegio de São Paulo, Goa, in October 1556. There is no known surviving copy of this book.

- 1557 Posthumous printing of Francis Xavier's *Catecismo da DoutrinaChrista*. No copy currently available.
- 1560Gonçalo Rodrigues authors Tratado contra os erros scismaticos dosAbexins, or A Tract against the Schismatic Errors of the Abyssinians.
- 1561The earliest Goa-printed book with a surviving copy is CompendioSpiritval da Vida Christãa, tirado de muitos autores pello primerio

Arcebispo de Goa, e per elle prégado no primeiro anno a seus fregueses, pera gloria e hõrra de Iesv Christo ... e edificaçam de suas Ovelhas. Boxer indexed 37 early books with an acknowledgement that the list is not complete (Pendse 43-44). The Spiritual Compendium of the Christian life is by Goa archbishop Gaspar Jorge de Leão Pereira and was printed by João Quinquencio. Re-edited by Manuel de Araujo in 1600, it was also embellished with ornate woodcut initials. This is also India's earliest surviving printed book.

- 1563 João de Endem prints Garcia da Orta's *Colóquios dos simples e drogas e cousas medicinais da Índia.*
- 1563 First Konkani grammar, in Portuguese, by a Goan lay brother, possibly André Vaz, printed at the Colegio de S. Paulo, Old Goa. At the time, the language existed in a script and form referred to as Canarim; it is thought to have possibly used the Hala-Kannada or Kandevi scripts (P. Fernandes).
- 1567 First Konkani-Portuguese dictionary list 15,000 Konkani words and their vocables in Portuguese. The first dictionary in any Indian language.
- 1568The first illustrated cover printed in Goa for Constituições doArcebispado de Goa.
- 1577 Tamil types used for the first Tamil book to be printed in India.
 Results of the first printing in Goa by the Spaniard João Gonsalves, the first typographer to work in an Indian language, were seen as inadequate. So new casts of the type were crafted by Fr João de Faria, in Quilon or Kollam. Even earlier, a book in the Romanised Tamil script was printed in 1554 in Lisbon. This Tamil catechism was

Carthila e lingoa Tamul e Portugues, by Vincente de Nazareth, Jorge Carvalho and Thoma da Cruz

- Following the 1556-launched first press, another little-known press, run by João Quinquencio and João Endem, was set up. The third was set up at Rachol.
- In November, the Rachol Seminary, then known as the Colégio de S.Inácio, was established.
- 1616 *Christa Purana* is an epic poem on the life of Christ in the literary form of the Hindu *puranas*, the Indian genre dealing with myths, legends, traditional lore and composed in Sanskrit and regional languages.
- 1617 The *Comentarios* by D. Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, 1550-1624, a diary of a Spaniard who travelled as an ambassador of the king of Spain and Portugal's Philip III to Persia in 1612-1617, was written. It describes the city of Old Goa and the island of Tiswadi. Varela has argued that, "In depth and detail, it surpasses all the canonical seventeenth century descriptions of Old Goa known to scholars and the general public and long translated into English..." It covers urban and architectural issues, ethnological and religious interpretations; from social struggles and contexts to botanical and zoological interests.
- 1622 *Doutrina Christam* by Thomas Estevão, Collegio de Rachol, or, Christian Doctrines in the Canarese Brahmin Language, arranged in dialogue to teach children. This was the first book in Konkani and any Indian language printed in India.
- Portuguese Jesuit Diogo Ribeiro (1560–1633) compiles the*Vocabulario da lingoa Canarim* or the Vocabulary of the Konkani

language, a Konkani-Portuguese and Portuguese-Konkani dictionary with some 14,000 principal lexical entries. Zwartes mentions that a ms. printed version has been compiled in 2005 by Toru Maruyama, of Nanzan University, Nagoya, Japan, in a private edition that was based on 697 carbon-copied sheets of a typewritten manuscript and the original version (317). See Maruyama.

- 1629 French Jesuit Étienne de la Croix (1579–1643) authors a Marathi
 book on the life of St Peter, *Discurso sobre a vida do Apostolo Sam Pedro em que se refuta os principaes erros do gentilismo*. He was
 Thomas Stephens' successor as Rector of the College at Rachol. His
 text has 12,000 *ovis* or verses in Marathi which, according to
 supporters of the Konkani cause, contained a significant number of
 Konkani words and expressions too. SarDessai quotes Alexandre
 Rhodes as saying that de la Croix wrote in the Konkani language too,
 though none of these works survive (SarDessai 49-50).
- 1632 Declaraçam da Doutrina Christam, or Exposition of ChristianDoctrine in Konkani by Fr Diogo Ribeiro.
- 1635 Christovão de Jesus writes the *Grammatica da Bramana*.
- First grammar for any Indian language is published: Arte de Lingua
 Canarim, the Grammar of the Canarim language, by Thomas
 Stephens at the St Ignatius College of Rachol (Reviving...). His work
 studies Konkani's phonetics, morphology and syntax. It also follows
 the Latin grammatical pattern. This work's second edition would be
 published in 1856 as *Gramatica da Lingua Concani Composta Pelo Padre Thomas Estevão*.
- 1655 *Sant Antonichim Acharyam,* or The Miracles of St Anthony. This will be rebuilt and republished centuries later in Olivinho Gomes' *Old*

Konkani Language and Literature — The Portuguese Role (1999) (577-766).

- 1658-59 Vonvalyancho Mollo, or The Garden of Shepherds, by Miguel de
 Almeida, is a work in five volumes. Volume III is included in Olivinho
 JF Gomes' Old Konkani Language and Literature The Portuguese
 Role, published in 1999.
- 1660 *Devachim Ekangr Bollnnim* by João de Pedrosa is the Konkani version of Pedro de Ribadeneira's *The Divine Soliloquies*, originally in Castillian.

The seventeenth century saw the beginning of a large-scale book-printing in Goa, egged on the need for Catholic religious texts to instruct the new converts. Printing in Tamil stopped after 1612, and the last books were published in 1674 in Latin and Portuguese before printing almost completely died.

- D. João VI leaves Brazil, returns to Portugal, sets up the
 Constitutional Monarchy. Goa's first official government press,
 Imprensa Nacional, established. Printing re-starts in Goa, mostly
 through the periodical press. First newspaper in Goa, the
 government-run *Gazeta de Goa* (1821-1826), established. *Gazeta de Goa* was a government-sponsored enterprise. In contrast, the first
 British-Indian newspaper was run by a sole proprietor, James August
 Hickey, from 1780 (Pendse 15). Periodicals to emerge later would
 include *O Ultramar* (1859-1941), *A Índia Portuguesa* (1861-1950), *A Vida* (1938 -1966), *O Heraldo* (1900–date). The last still survives,
 though as an English-language broadsheet.
- 1832 September saw the establishment of the first public library, *Livrariapública*, in Nova Goa, by Viceroy Dom Manuel de Portugal e Castro.

Its initial collection comprised books confiscated from defunct Church libraries.

- Portuguese India refused to repatriate to British India the rebels
 from the Bombay Presidency. A law passed to allow the Portuguese
 India government to dispose properties of secularized convents.
- 1844 Governor General José Ferreira Pestana orders establishment of a vernacular school offering instruction in Marathi.
- 1845 Governor General José Ferreira Pestana establishes a school for girls.
- Large-scale immigration of the Portuguese speaking Goan
 intelligentsia to the British India begins, in search of employment
 prospects.
- 1851 First edition of Goa, and the Blue Mountains; Or, Six Months of Sick Leave by the famous Victorian travel writer Richard Francis Burton. The book would stay in print for a long time, well into the twenty-first century, and determine how Goa was understood by some of the English-reading public. Burton was an orientalist-spy-linguist-diplomat. Anthropologist and Goa-ologist Robert S Newman has commented: "Richard Burton, the famous, nineteenth-century British traveller, started his career in India, but is mainly known for his works on Arabia and Africa.... As someone who knows a bit about India, and particularly Goa, I would say he was not all that accurate. He did notice that Goan Christians remained Indian in most ways and that they were divided by caste like the Hindus, from whom they had been converted. However, his picture of the caste structure in Goa is not accurate, nor were his observations of Goan life anything more than those of a tourist.... Burton wrote what could have been a very interesting book, never

mind accuracy. But his sneering, racist attitudes of contempt for everyone and everything... his total willingness to enforce his will on Indians with kicks and punches, his constant professions of boredom, and his scorn for each person he meets, even his own countrymen, cover the travel with a disgusting sauce, even though he may have been typical of his times" (Newman, "If India Were a Pizza"). After being initially published by Richard Bentley "Publisher in ordinary to Her Majesty", the currently copyright-expired work was republished by the University of California Press (1991), Asian Educational Services India (1998), Stackpole (2001), Narrative Press (2001), Kessinger (2007), Dodo Press (2008), TheClassics.Us (2013), Scholar's Choice (2015), Andesite Press (2015), Palala Press (2016), Createspace (2016), HardPress (2018), Franklin Classics Trade Press (2018), Forgotten Books (2018), and in multiple Kindle editions.

- 1854 Lyceu Nacional de Nova Goa, later called Liceu Nacional Afonso de
 Albuquerque, a secondary public educational institution, created by
 decree.
- 1857 Dr Joaquim Heliodoró da Cunha Rivara, 1800–79, publishes O Ensaio
 Historico da Lingua Concani, or Historical Essay on Konkani
 language. It would shape the debate for decades to come.
- Bernardo Francisco da Costa, Goan member of the Portuguese
 Parliament from 1853–1869, founded a printing press in Margão,
 called Tipografía Ultramar. In 1859 it would publish the first
 privately-owned newspaper in Portuguese India, *O Ultramar*.
- 1860 Colonial rule itself, with its consequent openings to the outside world, led to some sections from tiny Goa to access knowledge and influence in Europe. Agostinho Lourenço of Margão is believed to have become the first South Asian to get a doctorate from a foreign

university, with a PhD in Chemistry from Paris (Herold and Carneiro; Bhattacharje A110).

1866 Goan writer and parliamentarian Francisco Luís Gomes publishes a novel in Portuguese, *Os Brahmanes*, or The Brahmins, believed to be one of the earliest Indian novels (Adiga).

 1866 Dutch-born, Goan-by-marriage Elisabeth Johanna Lobato de Faria authors Noções preliminares da geografia para uso das meninas, a basic geography for girls.

- 1873 Gomantákáca prácina va arvácina itihása is published in Bombay.
 Scholberg (*Bibliography* 39) et al describe this 230-page Marathi
 work is "one of the earliest-written histories of Goa in a non-Western language".
- The Anglo-Portuguese treaty drastically changes the Portuguese
 India economy from agricultural to dependence on money
 repatriated by Goan émigrés to British India, primarily in Bombay.
 This helped spread influences of literary traditions of the English and Portuguese-language press of Bombay (Pendse 105).
- Isabel Burton, 1831-1896, or Lady Burton, wife of
 explorer-adventurer-writer Sir Richard Francis Burton, authors *Arabia-Egypt-India: A Narrative of Travel.* Her book includes
 chapters titled 'We Leave Bombay for Goa', 'The Civil and Religious
 History of Goa', 'The Career of St. Francis Xavier' and 'On the
 Inquisition in Goa'.
- 1881 Goa has four booksellers and one lithographer showing in the 1881 count (Pendse 64).

1885 The Indian National Congress formed in Bombay. Its subsequent nationalist agenda influenced some members of Indo-Portuguese diaspora (Pendse 73).

1893 Mgr Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado (1855–1922) authors A Konkani-Portuguese Philological and Etmological Dictionary. He later also authors A Portuguese-Konkani Dictionary (1905), A Bouquet of Konkani Proverbs (1922), and the unpublished A Grammar of the Konkani Language (1922). In 1936, the Baroda College professor of English, Anthony Xavier Soares, would translate Dalgado's Influencia do Vocabulario Portugúes em Linguas Asaticas (abragendo cerca de cinquenta idiomas) as Influence of Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages with notes, additions and comments. Originally published by the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, in 1913 and the University Press of Coimbra, it "at once received a very warm welcome from Orientalists all over Europe interested in philological studies" (A.X. Soares v). Its subtitle suggests the book studies the reflection of Portuguese on "about fifty languages". Soares, however, noted that when the book was published in 1913 "except Portuguese India, as was to be expected, no other part of India had heard the author's name, let alone of this or any other book of his" (v).

> Gaspar de São Miguel's undated *Sintaxis Copiozissima na Lingua Brahmana e Polida*, the manuscript of which is said to be at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (Zwartjes 47), and the find of this document, which Zwartjes has said he has not seen, is credited to José Pereira.

1893 Maria Luisa Garcez Mello's cookery book for the diaspora emerges in
 Bombay. Carlota Mesquita Correia's *Tratado completo de copa e cozinha – livro de cozinha goesa* comes out later, in 1924, from

Margão. Escolástica Xavier Gracias' *Preparados práticos de cozinha* is from Margão too in 1924 as well.

1894 First issue of *Arquivo Médico da Índia* published.

- Jacob e Dulce: cenas da vida indiana is authored by Francisco João da Costa and published by Margão's Typographia do Ultramar. Listed in the genre of "humour, satire, etc" in the WorldCat, the book would be translated by Alvaro Noronha da Costa and the Sahitya Akademi only in 2004 as Jacob & Dulce: Sketches from Indo-Portuguese Life. Seen as a cynical comment on life in colonial Goa, specially set in parts of Margão. This is believed to possibly be "the most translated and debated work of fiction published in Goa under Portuguese rule" (Ataíde Lobo "The Lives and Times of GIP..." 61). But because it is the author's only published work, the general public and scholars too treat it as if his literary production amounted to Jacob e Dulce alone.
- 1900 The first overseas Portuguese language daily, *O Heraldo*, starts getting published in Goa, under Professor Messias Gomes. It is still published as an English-language broadsheet currently in 2019. In 1920, it restored a half-page weekly section written in the Portuguese language, as the paper marked its 120th year of operations, though under changed managements and ownerships.
- José Gerson da Cunha, 1844-1900, the Bombay-based medico,
 Orientalist, linguist, Sankritologist, historian and numismatist of
 Goan origin, dies. He has authored 20 books on varied subjects,
 including the first book on Bombay's history, *The Origin of Bombay*,
 published posthumously in 1900 by the Royal Asiatic Society. His *Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*, a rare works on the subject, gets
 published only in 1956, by Agência Geral do Ultramar in Lisbon.

- 'Casa Luso-Francesa', set up in 1901, which was created by António
 Maria da Cunha (A.M. da Cunha), founder of *Heraldo*. It was the first
 publishing house with such a concept and it had been associated
 with the first book store in Goa. They received the support of an
 important publishing house in Lisbon, Bertrand. (Ataíde Lobo
 "Email").
- 1904 Francisco Mourão Garcez Palha's *Genealogia das familias portuguezas na India.* There were also other genealogies dating back
 to 1862, such as the 233-page Filipe Néry Xavier's *Nobiliarcha goana.*Its translated subtitle reads: "Catalog of the people that after the
 restoration of Portugal in 1640 until the year of 1860 has been graced
 by the sovereigns with diverse degrees of nobility and knighthood."
 Scholberg *et. al.* have commented on genealogies written of Goan
 families, that were sometimes aimed at promoting their prominence.
- 1912The first volume of Arquivos indo-portugueses de medicina e historianatural is published in Goa by Froilano de Mello (1887–1955).
- 1919 Pissurlencar's *Abade Faria: Resenha bibliografica*, or Abade Faria:
 Bibliographical Descriptive List, enlists some 65 "pieces of literature, wherein Abade Faria is referred to.... They include articles, encyclopaedias, bibliographical dictionaries, histories, and almanacs, in Portuguese, French and Marathi" (*Pissurlencar Bibliography* I 18).
- 1922 *Xivaji Maharaja com sangue português?!*, or Shivaji, Maharaja with Portuguese Blood?!, a 38-page booklet by Pissurlencar, refutes the view of some Portuguese writers who claimed that Shivaji "was born out of an illicit love affair between his mother Jijabai, and a Portuguese nobleman, Manuel de Menezes, owner of the estate of Virar, near Bassein" (*Pissurlencar Bibliography* I 54-55).

Justice António de Noronha authors *Os indus de Goa e a República portuguesa*. In 2008 this would be translated by Ave Cleto Afonso as *The Hindus of Goa and the Portuguese Republic*. Carmo Azavedo says that *Os indus was* "written at the invitation of the Portuguese Government to a Congress in Brazil", and cites Calcutta High Court Judge D.N. Mittel having said at the time of his death that "Anthony de Noronha was to Goa what Sir Rash Behari Ghose and Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee were to Bengal" (Azevedo).

Mgr Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado (1855–1922) authors *A Konkani-Portuguese Philological and Etmological Dictionary*. He later also creates *A Portuguese-Konkani Dictionary* (1905), *A Bouquet of Konkani Proverbs* (1922) and the unpublished *A Grammar of the Konkani Language* (1922). In 1936, the Baroda College professor of English, Anthony Xavier Soares, would translate it as *Influence of Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages* with notes, additions and comments. Originally published by the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, in 1913 and the University Press, Coimbra, (Soares vi).

- 1923 CV Chavan and VP Chavan release *The Konkani Proverbs*, then republished in the 1990s.
- 1924 Instituto de Vasco de Gama is renovated, to become the first institute set up to promote letters and sciences in Portuguese India.
- 1926 Manuel José Gabriel de Saldanha authors *Historia de Goa*. It will be reprinted in 1990.
- 1930-31 Innocent Souza (1879-1962) is included in the *Principal Poets of the World, Volume I,* 1930-31 (Joseph). A Bombay-based poet tracing roots to Siolim, his *The Purdah-Nashin* was published by Thacker,
 Spink and Co in London in 1918, His other works include *Uncle*

Roland or Looking for a Wife (1906); A Guide to Goa with a Brief History of Goa and the Life of St Francis Xavier (1922); The Clerks and Other Post Office Tales (1924); The Maid of the Hill, a poem in two cantos (1934); The Fascination of the Dance and Other Tales (nd); Radha: A Hindu Belle (1937); Beautiful Bombay and Other Stories (1937) and Rambles in Goa Land (novela, published by Longmans Greens in London) (Costa III 282).

- 1932 The first feature length film with sound is shown in Nova Goa.
- 1933 Maria Amélia Rodrigues authors the 'colonial novel' *Adão e Eva*.*Romance Colonial*, published in Lisbon.
- Ethel Pope's India in Portuguese Literature describes the influence of India on Portuguese literature beginning in 1498, but it does not define the literature that was produced in India as Indo-Portuguese until for the last period, that according to Pope, began in 1827. Pope divides the development of Portuguese literature as influenced by India in four distinct periods — the Classic Epoch, 1498-1580; the Gongoric School, 1580-1760; the French or Arcadian School, 1706-1826; and the Romantic School and Contemporary Writers. Pope's last chapter looks at Indo-Portuguese poetry (Pendse 35-36). Pendse, writing in 2013, has cited this as the "only work on Indo-Portuguese poetry, besides my present work, that I have found in contemporary literature".

Beatriz da Conceição Ataíde Lobo's *Contos da Tiazinha*, stories for children.

1938 Radio starts broadcasting in Portuguese India.

Ezilda Ribeiro Sousa, d. 1961, compiles her travel columns as *Atravésdo Mundo*, or Across the World. She also authored *Indigenous*

Medicinal Plants Available in Bombay, Goa and South Indian Districts in 1947.

Maria Luísa de Sequeira Coutinho's *Avozinha: Comédia para crianças,* a children's book, is launched. The year 1939 saw another, *O primeiro sarau. Comédia,* by the same author.

- 1939 José António Isamël Gracias gets published, via the Government of India Press at Simla, *The Adventurous Life of Dom António José de Noronha, bishop of Halicarnassau, and pseudo-nephew of Madam Dupleix, 1720-1776.* Halicarnassau is an ancient Greek city currently in Turkey.
- 1940-1960 Four to six printers are active in Goa in this period, including J.D.
 Fernandes, Gomantak Printers and Borkar Printers. One, a teacher in Curchorem, Rohidas Bandekar, quit his profession to start Bandekar
 Offset with an investment of Rs 24,000 (D'Cunha).

1944 A public library is set up in the city of Vasco de Gama.

- 1948 Susana Álvares authors *Delinquência Juvenil: suas causas e efeitos* and *Duas apreciaçõesa*, on teenage delinquency.
- Pissurlencar authors a book on the "services rendered by some
 Hindus to the Portuguese in various capacities as advisers, military
 captains, diplomats, administrators, linguists or commercial
 brokers" (*Pissurlencar Bibliography* I 50). Titled in Portuguese
 'Servidores Hindu do Estado Português da Índia: Séculos XVI-XVII'.
- c.1950 Mariano José Luís de Gonzaga Saldanha (1878–1975) of Ucassaim in Bardez, the doctor-pharmacist who went on to Marathi and Sanskrit at Goa and Lisbon and was deputy director of the new African and Oriental languages institute in Lisbon in the 1940s, reports the discovery the Konkani and Marathi mss. believed to be of Krishnadas

Shama and others in the Public Library of Braga, Portugal. Among his other works are the translations of Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*, 1926, editing Thomas Stephens' *Doutrina Christam em Lingoa Bramana Canarim*, 1945, and *Iniciação de língua Concani*, 1950.

Panduranga S.S. Pissurlencar documents, annotates, prefaces
Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na Índia – Hindus, muçulmanos,
judeus e parses. This 656-page tome is about the 'Agents of
Portuguese Diplomacy in India (Hindus, Muslims, Jews and Parses).'
Listed here are the Kothari, Vaga, Dhume, Valaulicar and other
families. An online auction house would later describe it as a
publication containing "a vast set of documents from local
personalities of Portuguese India who provided some assistance to
the Portuguese. The documents are grouped by personality and are
preceded by a short biography. Interesting for the study of relations
between Portugal and the indigenous populations of the region.
Unusual" (Ecléctica Leilões).

- First and best-received novel of Lambert Mascarenhas, the grand old man of the Goan novel in English, is published. Now 105 years old in 2019, he has written two "political novels" *Sorrowing Lies My Land* and *Heartbreak Passage*, published in 2009, separated by over half a century in time. In addition, there is his now out of print first novel *The First City*, 1943; *The Womb of Suadade*, a collection of short stories, 1994; and *The Greater Tragedy*, a play, 1998. *Sorrowing Lies My Land* has been translated into Marathi, Telugu, Konkani and Portuguese and reprinted four times (Fernandes da Costa, np).
- 1956 On the fourth centenary of the press in India, the Marathi
 Post-Graduate Research Institute publishes a Devanagari
 transliteration of *The Life of St. Anthony of Padua*, which had been

earlier published in Goa in 1655 in the Roman script, authored by António de Saldanha SJ (Priolkar, *The Printing Press* 21).

Pissurlencar attributes the authorship of two Portuguese works,
earlier thought to be the works of Father Fernao Queiroz (d. 1688), to
Ananta Kamat Vaga (1752-1793) who served the Portuguese in
various capacities as a linguist, envoy *et cetera*. The books were *Breve relação das escrituras dos gentios da Índia Oriental, e dos seus costumes*, or A Brief Account of the Scriptures of the Hindus of
Oriental India and their Customs; and *Noticia Summaria do Gentilismo da Asia*, or Brief Information on the Hinduism of Asia
(*Pissurlencar Bibliography* I 34-35).

1961 Following this year, a number of memoirs, autobiographies and comment pieces emerge from those involved in the campaign against Portuguese rule in Goa. Dr José Francisco Martins' 2000 memoirs is titled Censored Courtship. Edila Gaitonde, the Azores-born music teacher, and wife of freedom fighter Dr Pundalik Gaitonde (1913-1992), authored In Search of Tomorrow which was released in 1987 (TNN, 2012). Pundalik Gaitonde's own 1986-published book is called The Liberation of Goa. Other authors and former freedom fighters have also penned their reminiscences, including Aloysius Soares' Down the Corridors of Time, 1971, Telo de Mascarenhas' When the Mango Tree Blossomed: quasi-memoirs, 1976, James Fernandes' In Quest of Freedom, 1990, and Suresh Kanekar's Goa's Liberation and Thereafter, 2011. Kanekar earlier self-published his novel, a fictionalised version of the same theme, as Of Mangoes and Mosoons (2010).

1961 Orlando da Costa's *O Signo da Ira* is published in Portugal. It wouldbe translated into English in 2017 as *The Sign of Wrath*, presented by

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, to the author's son António Costa, and the Prime Minister of Portugal (DD News 04:12-04:40). Other works of Orlando da Costa are mentioned earlier in this section.

Pe. Filinto Cristo Dias' *Esboço da História da Literatura Indo-Portuguesa*, an outline of the history of Indo-Portuguese
 literature. Tip. Rangel, Bastora.

- Asif Currimbhoy, born 1928, an early Indian playwrights writing in English, releases the play *Goa*. An allegory, the story revolves around "an Indian boy's love for a Goan girl, caught within the restraints of a half-Portuguese mother and her Portuguese lover" (Noronha and D'Mello 148). Later published by the Writer's Workshop, Calcutta, in 1970 and 1982. Currimbhoy is described as being a "descendant from the baronetcy stock of the Khoja sect, the followers of Agha Khan". With an output of about 30 plays he "laid the foundation of modern Indian English drama in the 1950s, liberating it from the more static traditions of Tagore" (Myles).
- Gomantaka Chapkhana (Press) of Margão publishes Rajaram
 Rangaji Paingainkar's *Mee Konn?*, meaning "*Who am I?*". This
 autobiography of a Goan social worker and mine-owner deals with
 the social life of the Devadasis (Scholberg *et al* 121). Critiqued by
 Jivottama Raya Khota in *Dambhsphota*, 1971 (Scholberg *et al* 117).
- 1970 Leslie de Noronha's *The Mango and the Tamarind Tree* is an early English-language novel set in Goa. Noronha is sometimes seen as having reversed "the imperial homosexual gaze" (Bakshi 544). He authored a sequel, *The Dew Drop Inn*, 1994.
- 1971 An anthology of Goan writing in Portuguese, A literatura

indo-portuguesa, little-noticed at the time in Goa, is co-authored by Vimala Devi and Manuel de Seabra and published by the Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, in a Lisbon which is still to restore ties with New Delhi over Goa. A useful study of Goan literature, it however seems to be one which came out at the wrong time, in the wrong place, and the wrong language. Devi and Seabra discuss Konkani's presence both in Goa and other surrounding territories of British India. They see Goa as the only place in the Portuguese Empire of the East where a specific form of Portuguese Creole was born, serving as the language of communication between various Indo-Portuguese communities in Daman, Diu and even other far-flung territories like Malacca (Pendse 35).

In Bombay, meanwhile, *Modern Goan Short Stories*, compiled and edited by Luís Santa Rita Vás is released by prominent Indian publisher Jaico. It gets republished in 2002. Around this time, R.V. Zuarkar's *Stray Stories* is also one of the early books in the English language, offering short stories, self-published by the author from Goa Velha. Other titles of short stories relating to Goa – some published outside Goa – include *The Harvest and Other Short Stories from Goa*, edited by Manohar Shetty, 2001; *In the Womb of Saudade: Stories of Goan Life* by Lambert Mascarenhas, 1994; *Shattered Lives* by Imelda Dias, 2003; *The Village Home & Other Stories* by J.P. D'Souza, 1998; *Dust and Other Stories from Goa*, Heta Pandit, 2002; *Tales from Goa*, Bertha Menezes Bragança, 1990; and *Stories*, Leslie de Noronha, 1966.

1973 Reacting to Nirad Chaudhuri's book of essays *Continent of Circe* of 1965, Robert de Souza responds with a book-length reply, *Goa and the Continent of Circe*, detailing what he saw as the misrepresentation of Goa and the Goan in Chaudhuri's work.

- 1974 Vinayak Sadashiv Sukhtankar authors the slender *Tales & Tellers of Goa*, with five stories spanning 58 pages. Other similar books include Meurin's undated *Folk Tales of Goa*, 61 pages and priced at Rs 2.
 Arthur Crawford's *Legends of the Konkani*, first published in 1909, though not entirely restricted to Goa alone, gets a new lease of life with a new edition in 1987. *Goan Fairy Tales* selected by Claudiana de Noronha Ataíde Lobo and translated by Anselmo Rodrigues was published in 1964. Earlier, Robert de Souza's Casa Editora, 1930-published work was titled *A Glance Through Goan Folklore*, while Olivinho J.F. Gomes retold some *Konkani Folk Tales* for the National Book Trust in 2007. Mario Cabral e Sa's *Legends of Goa* emerged via the India Book House in 1998, in association with the Goa Tourism Department.
- 1977 Rosalina Filomena da Cunha e Soares Rebelo collates her writing into a book, published in Portugal, *Ao sopro das brisas fagueiras do Índico: uma visão panorâmica do fenómeno feminista dos anos 30 e outros ensaios da autora.* Its title can be translated to 'Under the breath of the Indian's blazing breezes: a panoramic view of the feminist phenomenon of the 1930s and other essays by the author'.
- 1978 Boarding Party: The Last Action of the Calcutta Light House is a winner's version of the World War II story, set in unlikely neutral Portuguese-ruled Goa, where the British take on the Germans and Italians. By 1980, it was adapted into a film, *The Sea Wolves*, starring Gregory Peck, Roger Moore and David Niven ("Sea Wolves").
- Mario Miranda (1926-2011) releases his *Are you ready, Miss Fonseca?* Miranda, a Loutolim-origin, Bombay-based cartoonist, worked for
 prominent business and mainstream dailies and won major national

awards. His titles include *Laugh it Off, Goa with Love* and *Germany in Wintertime*. He illustrated Dom Moraes' *A Journey to Goa,* Manohar Malgaonkar's *Inside Goa* and Mario Cabral e Sa's *Legends of Goa*. In the twenty-first century, a lot more of Miranda's work, which significantly shaped the image of Goa especially in the outside world, would get re-published at the initiative of architect Gerard da Cunha. Among his more-recently published books *Mario's Best Cartoons Book I, Mario's Best Cartoons Book II, The Life of Mario 1950, The Life of Mario 1951,* the coffee-table *Mario de Miranda, Mario's Bombay, Mario's Goa, Mario's Travels* and *The Life of Mario 1949*.

Youth icon and popular social critic Remo Fernandes' self-publishes his cyclostyled book *Loads: A Book of Poems*, priced at Rs 25 for the 48-page book. Other Goan and diaspora poets of note to write in English include Joseph Furtado's *Selected Poems*, published in a hundred-copy edition in 1942; *An Anthology of Modern Konkani Poems: Book I* by Dr Manohar Sardessai, 1964; R.V. Pandit's Goan Poetry, 1976; *My Song, My Chanson, O Meu Canto* (SarDessai, *My Song...*); *Tamarind Leaf* by R.V. Pandit, translated by Thomas Gay, 1967; *I Exist: Poems*, 1970-72 by Santan Rodrigues; and *Last Bus to Vasco* (B. Mendonça).

António Pereira, Jesuit writer who spent his life studying Konkani, self-publishes *The Makers of Konkani Literature*. He divides Konkani writing into the Franciscan, the Jesuit and the Modern schools. In the last he includes Cunha Rivara, Dr José Gerson da Cunha, Eduardo José Bruno de Souza, *Dada* Vaidya, Msgr. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, 'Shenoi *Goembab*', Joaquim António Fernandes, Dr Mariano José Saldanha, Dr José Pereira, Prof Lordino Rodrigues, Dr ManoharRai SarDessai, Dr R.V. Pandit.

1983	Freedom fighter and man of medicine Pundalik D. Gaitonde authors
	Portuguese Pioneers in India: spotlight on medicine.

- 1984 Peter Nazareth, formerly Uganda based and still teaching at the University of Iowa in 2019, sets his novel *The General is Up* in a mildly-disguised fictional country Damibia, where a General rises to power and expels Asians, including thousands of Goans. His works include *In A Brown Mantle, The Third World Writer: His Social Responsibility* and *Two Radio Plays*.
- 1992 Victor Rangel-Ribeiro, who took to writing his first novel at the age of72, debuts with *Tivolem*, set in the Goa of 1933.
- 1994 Advertising guru Frank Simoes' *Glad Seasons in Goa* takes a light-hearted look at Goa. This is among the early literature to be produced by returning Goan expatriates, those setting up second homes here, and others opting for life in slower-paced Goa.
- 1994 *Angela's Goan Identity*, self-published by Carmo D'Souza, is the story of a Goan landlord family in Calangute, the beach village turned over-crowded tourist destination.
- 1995 Cleo Odzer, who visited Goa as a young hippy via the overland route in the late 1970s, authors *Goa Freaks: My Hippie Years in India*. This marks the starts of alternative tourist writings on Goa. She draws a fan following (YahooGroups... Cleo Odzer), as well as criticism for her depiction of the hippy-life here. After her death, the book is locally republished, and seen as an eloquent, if controversial, depiction of those times.
- 1996 H. Ratnakar Rau's novel *Govind* is the story of a Goan Hindu orphan growing up in the times of the Inquisition.

- 1997 J. Clement Vaz spends long hours in the university library in Bombay and compiles *Profiles of Eminent Goans, Past and Present,* a book that shapes an understanding of the achievement of a small community across the globe (J. Clement Vaz).
- 1997 The three-volume dictionary on Goan literature, *Dicionário de Literatura Goesa*, by Aleixo Manuel da Costa, emerges in the Portuguese language, out of Macau. It offers significant information on a forgotten era of Goan literature and covers some 11,000 publications, including books and articles, from Goa and its diaspora. A fourth volume will come out later in Goa in 2013. A very useful text but difficult to access in Goa itself.
- Bombay-based Goan humour writer George Menezes authors OneSip At A Time.
- 1997 João da Viega Coutinho authors *A Kind of Absence*, published byYuganta Press in Stamford.
- Lino Leitão's *The Gift of the Holy Cross* is published by Peepal Tree,
 Leeds, a publishing house promoting "international writing from the
 Caribbean, its diasporas and the UK" ("Peepal Tree"). The novel is set
 in the coastal villages of Cavelossim and Carmona, in Salcete.

Pratima Kamat's *Farar Far: Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa, 1510-1912.*

2000 Manoharrai Sardessai authors *A History of Konkani Literature: from 1500 to 1992*, is published by the national academy for the letters, the Sahitya Akademi. This book will come to define the understanding of the growth of Konkani in Goa. Sardessai concedes to the difficulties in creating a "complete, period-wise survey" of Konkani literature. This language is written in four distinct regions – Mumbai, Goa, Mangalore and Kochi – and four to five different scripts.

2002 Pundalik Naik's *Acchev*, known in English as *The Upheaval*, first published in 1977 in Konkani, finally gets translated into English by Vidya Pai and reaches out to a far wider audience.

- 2003 Former Armyman and UN peacekeeper, policeman, forester and postal employee Mahabaleshwar Sail's *Kali Ganga* is published by the National Book Trust, in translation by Vidya Pai. Its original version emerged in 1996, and deals with the farming communities on the banks of the Kali River, Karwar. Sail, born in Karwar in 1943, also received a Sahitya Akademi award for *Taranga*, a short story collection, 1993, and a Rs 15 lakh Saraswati Samman award for his novel *Hawthan*. His *Yug Sanvar*, translated by Vidya Pai as *Age of Frenzy*, and *Taandav* in Marathi, are based on themes related to the Goa Inquisition.
- 2004 Maria Aurora Couto's *Goa: A Daughter's Story*, a widely-noticed book on Goa published at the pan-India level, is released. The book is authored by the wife of a prominent and senior post-1961 Goa government official and daughter of the pre-1961 elite. In 2013, she will go on to publish *Filomena's Journeys: Portrait of a Marriage, a Family and a Culture*.
- 2004 *Karmelin*, a story set amidst the migration of Goan women to the Gulf, by Damodar Mauzo and translated by Vidya Pai, is released by the Sahitya Akademi, India's national academy of letters. The original won a Sahitya Akademi award in 1983.
- 2004 Silviano Barbosa's *The Sixth Night*, a work by a diaspora writer self-published out of Goa, gets its title from a belief connected to a

new-born in Goa.

- 2004 Journalist Valentino Fernandes releases *How to be an Instant Goan*. The tongue-in-cheek book, illustrated by cartoonist Alexyz, goes on to sell quite a few editions.
- 2005 Ben Antão's novel *Blood & Nemesis* is published. The former journalist in Goa and Bombay has lived in Canada for decades, and has authored *Penance*, a novel about relationships, 2006; *The Tailor's Daughter; Living on the Market; The Priest and his Karma*; and *Money and Politics*, besides travelogues and memoirs.

National Book Trust organises book publishing training workshops in Panjim, in this year and 2012. This is to lead to some small ventures and individuals entering the Goa publishing field – such as Leonard Fernandes and Queenie Rodrigues' Cinnamon Teal; Goa1556 also referred to as Goa,1556; Pantaleão Fernandes; Jose Lourenço; Rajashree Bandodkar; and Cecil Pinto, among others.

2006 Goa figures, in a marginal through perceptible and intriguing way, in the fictional characters and writings of Salman Rushdie, particularly *The Moor's Last Sight* (Noronha and D'Mello 157).

Around this time, a book on Goa is published in Japanese, 'Giri' Suzuki's *Mouhitots-no Indo, Goa-kara-no Nagame* (The Other India, a View from Goa).

- 2007 Savia Viegas' debut and self-published novel *Tales from the Attic* is marketed through innovative ways, including directly to tourists on the beach in parts of coastal Goa and elsewhere ("On her creative life").
- 2007 Fátima da Silva Gracias' *The Many Faces of Sundorem: Women in Goa* is published at Tirunelveli/Chennai..

2010 The 1987-founded International Centre Goa launches the Goa Art and Literature Festival, an idea suggested by its then Director, Nandini Sahai, and later co-curated by littérateur Damodar Mauzo and Vivek Menezes. It was organised in association with the GoaWriters group, and the Directorate of Art and Culture, and has been since held annually in December, except in the pandemic year of 2020.

> The Goa-Book-Club is launched on GoogleGroups in July. The group discusses Goa-related books online and occasionally during real-world, face-to-face meetings too. GoaWriters, another mainly English-language focussed writers' group, was also formed in September 2005, after writing workshops that were mentored by Victor Rangel-Ribeiro and Margaret Mascarenhas, possibly among others. This is a members-only group which also critiques mainly short stories and other forms of creative writing of its members. Its online archives have been largely lost, with the demise of Yahoogroups in 2019-20.

> Architect Gerard da Cunha publishes four, and later more, books on the "best cartoons of Mario (Miranda)", showcasing the work of the prominent artist from Goa. Cunha has also undertaken other notable publishing projects to highlight issues and work mainly from Goa.

2011 A well-received anthology called *Inside/Out: New Writing from Goa* is collated by the GoaWriters, and produced collaboratively.

Members of the GoaWriters collaboratively publish and market a book, *Inside/Out: New Writing from Goa*, with a print-run of 2000 sold out fairly promptly.

2012 Braz Menezes, architect and urban planner, works on and publishes

the second of Matata trilogy in Canada. The series includes *Just Matata: Sin, Saints and Setters* (2011); *More Matata: Love after the Mau Mau, a novel set in Kenya* (2012) and *Beyond the Cape: Sin, Saints, Slaves, and Settlers* (2015). Later republished in Goa.

Librarian Milind Mhamal compiles a comprehensive listing of Goan writing in Marathi, from its early times till 2012. *Gomantakiya Granthkaranchya Marathi Granthanchi Granthasuchi*, the bibliography, will be published in December 2014 by the Directorate of Official Language, Government of Goa.

- 2013 Widely noticed author Maria Aurora Couto's *Filomena's Journeys: A Portrait of a Marriage, a Family and a Culture* is published. One
 critic would see it "as much a portrait of ... [a] dying Catholic elite,"
 Her earlier *Goa: A Daughter's Story* came out in 2004.
- 2014 In September, the Goa University's Department of English marks the birth centenary of author-journalist Lambert Mascarenhas with a seminar focussing on 'Goan writing' at the Institute Menezes Bragança. His novel *Heartbreak Passage* was released in 2009, at the age of 94.

In the UK, Mervyn Maciel, 85, who spent his early childhood in Kenya, studied in India, and then worked in colonial East Africa before retiring to the U.K. authors *From Mtoto to Mzee: Story of my Life's Safari* which details the "challenges he faced, the interesting people he met along the way... from the NFD (Northern Frontier District) of Kenya". He earlier, in 1985, authored *Bwana Karani*, or Mr. Clerk, a memoir of his life and work in colonial East Africa and elsewhere.

2017 Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Costa visits India in January, an

occasion for two of his late father Orlando Costa's books to be translated and published in Goa. The latter was a *persona non grata*, due to his politics, in Salazar's Portugal and saw his work neglected, again due to his radical politics, in Goa.

- 2018 Portuguese author Joaquim Correia publishes a book that takes a comprehensive look at popular music in the "last years" of prior to the 1960s A Última Dança em Goa; Música Popular nos Últimos Anos do Estado da Índia Portuguesa (Ideias com Historia).
- 2020 The pandemic year sees a growth in Goa of online discussions about writing, some of which deal with Goa-related work (Viegas "In Goa's Margao..."). The Goa Arts and Literary Festival is not held for the first time since 2010, due to the pandemic. Publishing comes under pressures in Goa, and options are experimented with (Noronha "Publishing in the Pandemic...").

The Marathi Novel in Goa

In 1886, Suryaji Sadashiv Mahatme is believed to have written his first and Goa's first Marathi novel *Veshadhari Punjabi*, a suspense novel reviewed in the *Times of India*.

Prof. A.K. Priyolkar published his novel *Gondavanatil Gavgund* was published in a series of 51 parts in *Vividhvrut*.

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1902	Ramchandra Vagle: Sud ki Pranaykalah.
1908	Gopal Mahale: Chakravarti Hamir.
1909	Vinayak Atmaram Karapurkar: <i>Malini.</i>
1917 to 1933	Sitaram Lotlikar four novels Shantaram, Khuni Shrimanti,
	Dadapshahi, Jalo te Prem.
1926	K.N. Asnodkar. Kateri Bajar, Vilasi Kanta, Galbot,
	Pankhar. The author is believed to have written some 23
	novels.
1928 to 1944	S.G. Kantak. Three novels Arya Stri, Svayansevak, Milan.
	M.G. Rangnekar. Simolanghan, Mrugjal, 1937.
	Balkrishna S. Vaidya. Ashikshit Ruday.
	Kumudini Rangnekar. Kartvyachi Janiv, Kalpna,
	Kuskarlele Ruday, Besur Sangit, Virlele Vastra, Priticha
	Golghumat, Aniymit Jag, Ekeri Gath.
	Prema Kantak. <i>Kam aani Kamini, Agniyan</i> .

	Nalini Mulgaokar. <i>Trushana</i> .
	Dattatray Kirtane. Pavitraprem.
	R.V. Sarmalkar. Umbrache Ful.
	B.B. Borkar. Mavlata Chandra, Andharatil, Vaat, Bhavin.
	Vyankatesh Anant Pai Raikar. Teen Taruni, Premvedi.
	Laxmanrao Sardessai. Mandavi tu Aatlis, Jagavegla,
	translated.
	B.D. Satoskar, ex-editor of Gomantak: Aai, Dharitri, Digya,
	translated novels.
	Chandrakant Kakodkar. Gomantaka Jaga Ho, Garja
	Jayjaykar, Agnidivy, Mandavi tu Petlis, Tethe Kar Maze
	Julti.
Post-Liberation	Dr Subhash Bhende: <i>Kinara</i> , among other novels.
period	
	Avadhoot Kudtarkar: Digambara.
	V. J. Borkar: <i>Vansh</i> .
	Chandrakant Gawas: Pali.
	Sharad Dalvi: Eaklavya.
	Suresh Valimbe: <i>Nati Niyatichi</i> , among some seven novels
	to his credit.
	Dr Arun Heblekar: Aaditya, Salomiche Nrutya, Jonas Arch.
	Narayan Mahale: Savali.
	Bhalchandra Madkaikar: <i>Nayani Pani.</i>
	Mahesh Pai: What Next? (M. Pai)

Madhavi Dessai: Nach ga Ghuma, Prarthna were among
the prominent novel writers in Marathi. The Hindu (The
Hindu. "Madhavi Desai") noted in an obituary that
Desai, who died at 80 in Koppal, Karnataka, was the
author of "nearly 35 books on women's issues, including
her autobiography Nach Ga Ghuma" and had been living
in Goa for several years but had shifted to Belgaum a few
months prior due to ill-health.

Based on the inputs of Ramdas Kerkar. See Mhamal for a more comprehensive listing of texts in Marathi.

C. Writing Out of Goa, And Building the Written Word Beyond Goa: Insights from Luís Santa Rita Vás

L UIS Santa Rita Vás prefers to maintain a low-profile role, but his work speaks for itself. Prominent Indian editor, late Vinod Mehta, has partly credited his entry into journalism to Vás. Below is an interview conducted with Vás in two separate email exchanges on March 18 and March 20, 2015.

Q: Could you tell us about your publishing experiences in Jaico? What made you get into publishing?

I was always an omnivorous reader of books: detective and science fiction; history, philosophy, religion, biography...you name it.

I was studying to become an engineer like my father. When it became clear that I wouldn't get the marks I'd need to enrol in an engineering college, I joined a journalism college in Bombay based on an article I'd written on Jiddu Krishnamurti, published in the *Sunday Standard*, the Sunday edition of the *Indian Express*. A year later, in 1968, armed with a diploma in journalism and a silver medal in 'writing', I applied for a job in [the book publishing house] Jaico without bothering to check whether they had a vacancy or not. They hired me.

Q: How important was Jaico on the publishing scene then?

Jaico was established in 1946 as a pioneer in the English language paperback publishing in India. Mostly it reprinted, in paperback, foreign-published books like Frank Moraes' *Jawaharlal Nehru: a biography*; *Nehru: Sunlight and Shadow*; TGS George's *Krishna Menon: A biography* and Nirad C. Chaudhuri's *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian* and *The Continent of Circe*. Most Indian authors [at that time] got their books published abroad. But things were already beginning to change. On the day I was interviewed, my boss at Jaico was negotiating with Allied Publishers, an Indian publisher, paperback reprint rights for Gen B.M. Kaul's *The Untold Story*, about the Chinese debacle, which they eventually published.

Q: When you started, how many active publishers were there across India?

In Bombay, Jaico, Wilco, Allied, Popular Prakashan — which has published most of D.D. Kosambi's books, Orient Longman, Tata McGraw-Hill, Vakils, and Feffer & Simons were the most prominent. In Delhi, Vikas, Sterling, Orient Paperbacks and Hind Pocket Books ruled the roost. There were also specialist publishers like [the Sanskrit and Indology book publishers active since 1903] Motilal Banarsidass.

Q: *How do you see the scene as having changed*?

Much has changed after I left Jaico in 1977 to join L&T. Penguin, Rupa, Harper Collins entered the fray. I'm not familiar with all the details.

Q: I'm most curious about how you got Vinod Mehta started. He has acknowledged your role, and proved to be such a great editor!

As I explained elsewhere, when Vinod Mehta returned from England he came to Bombay and started working for Jaisons Advertising. In his spare time, he wrote a book titled *Bombay A Private View* which he peddled to all publishers in the city, including Jaico where I worked but could find no takers. Finally, he published it himself and Thacker's distributed it. Soon after, when the actress Meena Kumari died, since Vinod's book had a section on the Bombay cinema, I rang him and asked whether he would be willing to write a biography of Meena Kumari for Jaico. He agreed immediately, wrote it, Jaico published it and it did very well. Then he suggested writing a biography of Sanjay Gandhi while he was still alive. We agreed and he wrote it but could not get either Sanjay or his wife Maneka to talk to him. So the book was not a success. But Vinod's connection with Jaico enabled him to persuade Jaico to launch the *Sunday Observer* which he edited. He went on to edited several other papers and finally landed in Delhi and started *Outlook*. That's when I lost touch with him. When [his book] *Lucknow Boy* was published, I wrote to him to thank him for mentioning me in his book. He immediately replied to say that both *Meena Kumari* and *The Sanjay Story* had been reprinted by Harper-Collins. I wrote back to say that *Meena Kumari* was doing well according to Mumbai booksellers but not *The Sanjay Story*. I didn't hear from him after that.

Q: How easy or difficult was it for Goan content to get published in books?

As soon as I joined Jaico, I learnt that novels did not sell but that collections of short stories did. I put together my collection of *Modern Short Stories*, an amateurish job, but I didn't know any better, and they published it. It didn't do well, selling about 1,200 copies. Even so, many years later, they reset it and re-published it without consulting me. It was full of mistakes. Even my name was misspelt.

Q: Can you share with me some insights into the world of publishing in Goa too? In the 1970s, or in the 1960s, when you started, what were the options for someone in Goa to get published?

As far as I know, you had to go to Bombay or Delhi to get your work published. Claude Alvares, who was still a student in Bombay and later a doctoral student in the Netherlands, had still to start his publishing venture in Goa [which he did] probably in the 1980s. He used to visit me in Jaico while I was there.

Q: What was the difference in publishing in Bombay and Goa at that time?

I can't answer the question since I'm not aware of any book publishing in Goa at that time.

Q: Was Bombay still the book publishing capital of India then? If it shifted, when do you see the shift having taken place?

Both Bombay and Delhi contended for the honour. Now with Penguin and Aleph, a Rupa venture, they are still contending, in my opinion.

Q: Which was the place most Goan authors then preferred to get published?

Probably Bombay, being closer to Goa; but it was also possible to get published in Delhi. The late Wellington Caldeira, a Goan editor, was with Orient Paperbacks in Delhi at that time.

		In Goa's Literary World	 1556: Printing arrives in Goa, 1617: The Comentarios by D. Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, 1550-1624, a diary of a Spaniard who travelled as ambassador of the king of Spain and Portugal Philip III to Persia in 1612-1617, written under the title Totius legationis suae et Indicarum rerum Persidisque commentarii and translated into French in 1667. Not coincidentally, this is during the period when Portugal itself was ruled by the Spanish King, and was authored by the Spanish King, and detail, this book is said to surpasses all the canonical 17th century descriptions of Old Goa known to scholars and the general public. fter the flowering of the first round of publications, printing in Goa goes into a long, dark night with spells of silence. Loyola Furtado says the "silence of the press" lasted from 1674 to 1821 (49). 1784 During Church services, soldiers surround and arrest the congregation at some churches around Mangalore. This
	Goa and the literary world during this period.	Developments in Goa	 1510: Complex Portuguese encounter begins in Goa, with the conquest of regions of the central core, and its reconquest, detailed elsewhere in the text. Other parts of Goa are taken over by the Portuguese in a complex mix of treaties, conquests and intrigue. Between 1580 to 1640, Portugual rules Goa (and other pockets in Asia), while in Europe Spain itself has annexed Portuguese treaty signed, thus ensuring the Portuguese rule in Goa. 1759: Marquis de Pombal expels the Jesuits from Goa. Maratha-Portuguese treaty signed, thus ensuring the Portuguese rule in Goa. 1774-1778: Suppression of the Inquisition. Rachol Seminary also suppressed, till restoration in 1781. 1787: Pinto Revolt begins. Also known to the Portuguese as <i>A Conjuração dos Pintos</i>, or The Conspiracy of the Pintos. 1802: British troops enter Goa and Portuguese India, supposedly to protect it
a and the book	1 Portugal, India, Goa and the lite	Developments in India	 1000: Ghaznavid armies of Persianate Muslim and Turkic mamluk (slave) origin start to raid and pillage north Indian cities. 1022: Cholas conquer India's eastern coast. In 1526, they would invade Sumatra and Malaya. They are one of the longest ruling dynasties in history. 1192: Muhammad of Ghur who overthrew the Ghaznivid dynasty in 1173 in Afghanistan defeats the Rajputs near Tanesar, now in Haryana. Seen by some as laying the foundation for Islamic rule over India. The Islamic Delhi Sultanate is established in 1206. 1222: Mongols conquer Afghanistan and enter North India. 1229: The Shan people of South East Asia (Shans live in Burma, adjacent to China, Laos, Assam and Thailand) set up the Kingdom of Assam in eastern India. 1498: Vasco da Gama lands near Calicut today in Kerala on May 17. He meets the local ruler, the Zamorin on May 22. He had left Lisbon with four ships and 170 men almost 11 months earlier. 1500: First European factory in Indian soil, in Calicut.
D. Portugal, India, Goa and the book	Below is a brief timeline of happenings in Portugal, India,	Developments in Portugal	 218 BCE - Romans conquer Iberia. 409 - In Spain, civil war places Roman control in chaos. 711 - Berber and Arab Muslims take over Lisbon, set-up mosques, allow others to retain cultural lifestyles. 9th century Kings of Leon, in the Iberian Peninsula's extreme north, attempts a Christian <i>Reconquista</i>. 1128-1178 - Afonso Henrique, expels his mother who remarried a Galician nobleman, becomes first king of Portugal. 1139 - Kingdom of Portugal wrests independence from Kingdom of León. 1494 - The Treaty of Tordesillas is signed in Spain. Crown of Castile and Portuguese Empire carve-up the 'New World' amongst themselves. 1497 - Vasco da Gama sails from Portugal on his first voyage to India.
D. I	Below	Year	Pre- 20th century

	Leads to the long Capturity of the Christians of Mangalore (Alan Machado 284-378). The date on which this happened is believed to be 24 Feb.	1821:After returning from Brazil to Portugal, D. João VI established the Constitutional Monarchy and the printed text resurfaced in Goa, now mainly in the	periodical press format. 1834: The Protestant Swiss Basel Mission sets up operations in Mangalore, but conversions from Goan-origin Catholics	there comes "at a high price [and being] treated as outcasts by their relatives and deprived of their traditional living" (Alan Machado 370).				
ما محمد المحمد المحم	From Faulting in the nations of Napoleonic France. Date also mentioned as 1799. Occupation of Goa continued until 1813. 1817: Academia Militar de Goa launched.	1850: Portuguese India's northern borders were agreed upon and ratified with the princely state of Savantwadi.	1852: The Ranes, local chieftains in north-east Goa, begin a series of rebellions against the Portuguese.	1857: The first telegraph line with Belgaon in Bombay Presidency (British India) took place; date sometimes mentioned as 1859.	1860: Agostinho Lourenco of Margao becomes possibly first South Asian to get a foreign Doctorate, with PhD in Chemistry from Paris.	1875: First Nova Goa-Lisboa under-water direct telegraphic line.	1878: First Anglo-Portuguese treaty. British India to control alcohol and salt trade in Portuguese India. Bombay Presidency to compensate with 400,000 rupees over 12 years. Treaty would	impoverish native Goan peasants; connect Goa by rail to British India; develop the Mormugao Port; grant British India a monopoly over Goa's salt trade; and lead to a contraction of the Goan economy. This led to mass Goan migrations to
	1502: Vasco da Gama reaches India for a second time. Despite hostility from the Zamorin, sets up a factory at Cochin. In 1503, Afonso de Albquerque would set up the first Portuguese fortress at Cochin. By 1505, Dom Francis de Almeida of	Portugal arrives in Cochin carrying with him the title of Viceroy of India. Around this time, Sikhandar II Lodi builds his new capital at Agra.	1507: Portuguese arrive at Madras, today Chennai. 1508: The Zamorin of Calicut, Sultan of Gujarat and Sultan of Egypt combine to defeat the Portuguese navy at Chaul.	1509: The Portuguese defeat the combined Muslim navy at Diu, and the Sultan of Gujarat, Mahmud Begara, allows the Portuguese to set up base there.	1509: Dom Francis de Almeida is replaced by Afonso de Albquerque as Viceroy of (Portuguese) India. He first came as a naval commander in 1503 and will later be seen as founder of the Portuguese power in India.	1533: The Portuguese acquire their `Northern Territories' from the Gujarat Sultanate over a gradual process which lasts till 1533. This includes Chaul, Dadra-Nagar Haveli, Daman, Diu, Bassein	(Vasai) fort and city, north of Bombay, founded by them. Islands comprising today's Bombay are a part of the Portuguese Empire till the 1668 transfer to the British. Bassein and Chaul were ceded to the Maratha Empire in 1739 (Pendse 8).	1600: English East India Company, to become a dominant player in India's history, is formed. 1739: The Marathas conquer the Northern Territories of Portuguese India, comprising the fort-city of Bassein north of Bombay.
	set ind	Brazil. Goa tums into premier hub of the F Portuguese Asian trade, and that nation's t 'second city'.	1495-1521: The Manueline Era. Crown and nobility reconciled. Reforms and modernises administration. Jews expelled in 1496. Portuguese culture flourishes.	May 20, 1498: Portugal makes contact with India by sea after Vasco da Gama voyage to Calicut, in monsoon-drenched southern India. In 1543, Portugal makes its first contact with		1580: Portuguese heirless throne passes on to King Philip II of Spain ('Spanish Captivity'). Spain recognises Portugal's independence only in 1668.	1641: Malacca falls to the Dutch; Macao cut- toff from Goa and the rest of the Estado da India.	1704-1713: Portugal intervenes in the Spanish 1 succession war, first with the French claimant, c and then backing the England-Austria-Low Countries grand alliance. Peaces help Portugal's expansion in Brazil.

<u>v</u>		 y 1896: Jacob e Dulce : scenas da vida indiana is penned by Francisco João da Costa or Gip. 1899: Shenoi Goembab (Waman Raghunath Shennoi Varde Valaulikar, 1877-1946) returns from Bombay to Goa, to work as a teacher. He moves to Karachi and works as a clerk at the Lahore Municipality. In Bombay, he takes up a job at the Italian Consulate. He joins a German firm, as a stenographer. As German swere forced to leave British India in World War I, Goembab runs the
 British India, mostly to Bombay. 1880: British India and Portuguese India's currency treated on par. 1881: First census of Nova Goa; population 8,478 (5,431 Christians and 3,047 'non-Christians'). Portugal sells railroad rights in Goa to a British company, the West India Portuguese Railway Company. Code on customs, marriage of 'Gentiles' became effective. 	1886: First rail track in Goa connects Mormugão port and British India.	 1890: First indus-agro expo. First entirely Goan-origin religious order established, Sociedade Missionária Diocesana de São Francisco Xavier. 1891: Luso-British treaty of 1878 annulled. 1895: 298 Maratha soldiers refuse to embark on journey to Mozambique, combine forces with Ranes. Governor General suspends all constitutional guarantees in Goa, affecting press operations.
 1750-1777: Ex-diplomat Marquês de Pombal dominates, rules despotically. Massive reforms in education, religion, economy. Jesuits expelled. Dona Maria takes over in 1777 and begins the <i>viradeira</i>, or <i>volte-face</i>. Pombal exiled, prisoners released. 1793-1813: Portugal intervenes in the French Revolutionary wars. Portugal invaded in 1807. Its government flees to Brazil. Anglo- Portuguese fight the French in the 'Peninsular War'. Portugal wins; French expelled in 1813. 	 1821: On being recalled, the King returns from Brazil. His son stays on and becomes emperor of independent Brazil. 1828-1834: War of the Two Brothers. Portugal, rebels, Britain, France, Spain and Catholic Church are involved. 1844-1847: Civil War. Britain and France intervene. 	 1895 - Parliamentary elections boycotted by Progressive and Republican parties. The Regeneration Party wins all seats. 1899 - The Progressive Party wins Parliamentary elections. 1900 - The Regeneration Party wins in Portugal.
		Fin de siècle

			1897: New law on the regulation of the Imprensa Nacional de Goa.	firm, draws the owners' praise, and a promotion. But charges of mis- management, said to come from disgruntled employees, make him leave the firm and devote his life to revitalising Konkani.
				1899: Casa LusoFrancesa, Goa's first bookshop, is set up.
1900	Hindi is made equal in status to Urdu in the United Provinces, in lower courts and administration. Seen by some British as "a way to balance Hindus against Muslims". (Metcalf 134) Calcutta gets its electric tram, the first in India too.	ц, е	Goa's first Portuguese daily- <i>O Heraldo</i> is launched. It survives to date, and in 1983 gets renamed as <i>Herald</i> , or o <i>Herald</i> o.	To begin a centre for Indo-Portuguese publications, publishers are requested to send in their publications to the library (<i>B.O</i> March 20, 1900). Aim was to improve Goa's intellectual capacity, and make info available for future generations. Exemption made for postage.
1901	Kim, the literary masterpiece of India-born Rudyard Kipling, depicts an India whose people comprise "distinct, often colourful, groups, each waith its presumably unchanging characteristics". (Metcalf 131) Punjab Land Alienation Act prohibits sale of agri land to "non-agricultural" classes, to protect debt-ridden tenants. Seen as boosting landlord, Muslim interests against Hindu moneylender, trading classes who had stepped up investing in land. (Metcalf 134)		A law regulating Liceu Nacional of Nova Goa and other institutions of secondary education is published. Konkani introduced in Liceu Nacional. Steamboats introduced for the river navigation in Goa. The Church and the State are separated by a decree. The Freedom of Press Act is published in Portugal and her colonial possessions.	
1902	Revolutionary group Anushilan Samiti ("bodybuilding society") founded in Bengal. Death of Narendra Datta (b. 1863), famous as Swami Vivekananda. He embraced Western education, later followed Ramakrishna, defended caste, "idol" workship.(Metcalf 142)	ngal. ous as stern lf 142)	Dada Rane and 22 "accomplices" are exiled to East Timor. Dada and son Indroji die in Timor. Others possibly return after their exile is reduced. One of the exiles, Santoba Rane, joins in the final revolt in 1912.	

		Edward VII becomes Emperor of India. Curzon stages extravagent Delhi Durbar.		
		Imperial Library opened in Calcutta.		
1904		First Sikhs migrate to Canada.		
		First original short story in Hindi 'Ladki Ki Bahaduri' by Pt. Madhav Prasad Mishra published in <i>Sudarshan</i> .		
1905	Germany begins building hospitals, resorts in exchange for tax breaks. Madeira sees itself and slowly being colonized and withdraws all contact.	Partition of Bengal. In Poona, Gokhale launches Servants of India Society. Modelled on Jesuits and Hindu ascetics, to build activists, promote eduction, uplift depressed classes and girls. (Metcalf 140)	Development of iron and manganese ore mines in Goa.	
		Triumph of Japan over Russia seen by some in India as the first military win of an Asian power over a European one.		
1906	Big strike of typographers. Foundation of the Escola Superior Colonial (Superior Colonial School)	Jugantar, a major secret revolutionary trends in Bengal, like the Anushilan Samiti, started as a fitness club.		
1907		Indian National Congress (INC), set up in 1885, sees an ideological split between extremists and moderates at Surat.	Sebastiao Rudolfo Dalgado is appointed Professor of Sanskrit at the Lisbon University, becoming the frrst Indian to bold a Sansbrit chair in any European	Joseph L. Saldanha auhors a Mangalore- published book titled <i>The Christian</i> <i>Purana of Father Thomas Stephens of the</i> <i>Society of Jesue</i> , It contains on Endisch
		Annie Besant, ex-British socialist and member of the International Order of Co- Freemasonry, becomes president of the US- founded Theosophical Society, with intl HQ in Adyar, Madras.	University.	Scholberg 315) (Scholberg 315)
1908	Failed Republican revolutionary attempt. Conspirators arrested.	Foundation stone laid for Victoria Memorial at Calcutta, by the Prince of Wales (the future King George V). (Bhattacherje A138)	A new Rane Revolt is suppressed by troops from Mozambique.	
1909		The Indian Councils Act (Morley Minto	The museum of art of Portuguese India is	

		The Satari insurrection restarts; Government suspends all constitutional guarantees.					1913: Two new schools (Liceus) are founded in Margão and Mapuça.
established in Pangim.	Ram Manohar Lohia, later a prominent Indian socialist leader with a crucial role in igniting the campaign against the Portuguese in Goa in the 1940s, is born at Akbarpur, U.P. on March 23.						
Reforms) does not give legislatures the right to control the exectutive, which is retained in British hands. The consultative ('durbar') model of government continues.	<i>Gitanjali</i> , Rabindranath Tagore's collection of poems, gets published. It would be translated in 1912 and win a Nobel Prize, the first by an Asian, in 1913.	Betwen 1911 and 1920, indenture labour ended where it earlier prevailed Trinidade, Jamaica, British Guyana, Fiji, Mauritius, Malaya, Natal, Burma, Ceylon, Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar. (Metcalf 129)	New Viceroy Lord Hardinge orchestrates the spectacle of an imperial <i>durbar</i> in Delhi. (Metcalf 159) King George V and Queen Mary visit Bombay. In 1924, the Gateway of India would be erected at Bombay to commemorate the visit. King announces that Delhi is to be the new capital, shifting away from Calcutta.	India's capital is shifted from Calcutta to Delhi.	Death of Allan Octavian Hume (b. 1819), Scottish ICS officer, catalyst in founding Indian National Congress. (Metcalf 136)	Oxford University Press oldest publishing house globally, since 1478 sets up India operations in Bombay.	Gadar Party formed. Tagore wins the Nobel for Literature. India emerges as Britain's chief export market
	Beginning of the Republican Revolution. In 1908, the King and heir were assassinated. Portugal's last King, Manuel II, flees to exile. Several pretenders ensue.	Current Portuguese flag adopted. Escudo, the new currency, replaces the 'real' at 1 escudo to 1000 'réis'					
	1910	1911		1912			1913

	401					
	Birth of Silvestre Micael Feliciano Martins in Corlim; prolific Goan composer and musician.					
for its goods machinery, iron and steel good, textile. In return, India supplies raw material. (Metcalf 125)	The Hindu-German Conspiracy, a series of plans between 1914 and 1917 by Indian nationalist groups, aims to build Pan-Indian rebellion against the British Raj in World War I. Believed to have got support from German Foreign Office, German consulate in San Francisco, Ottoman Turkey and Irish republicans.	Britain wages war on Germany, on behalf of the entire Empire, including India too.	The SS <i>Komagata Maru</i> with Sikh and Punjabi Muslim youth sails from Hong Kong to Vancouver. Aims at challenging colourbar in Canada. (Bhattacherje A143-4)	Defence of India Act abrogates the civil rights on a wide range of fronts. Tilak is released from Mandalay, shifts to a spirit of moderation. Death of Gokhale, an early nationalist. (Metcalf 135)	Congress, Muslim League meet in Bombay and Lucknow. The Lucknow Pact, which emerges from this, aims at wider franchise and Muslims getting separate electorates. Provincial Government of India in exile is set up in Afghanistan. Gandhi founds Satyagraha (Sabarmati) Ashram.	Annie Besant and Tilak found Home Rule League. Benares Hindu University founded. Indian National Congress accepts separate electorates.
						1916: Germany declares was on Portugal.
	1914			1915		1916

 the 'Grand Old Man of Indian Nationalism'. First Indian elected to the British House of Commons, 1892-1895. (Metcalf 124) World influenza pandemic affects India. 5 million affected. Gadhar (revolution') movement of Punjabi immigrants to North America tries to spread revolution in India. Jallianwala Bagh (Amritsar) massacre. Rabindranath Tagore returns knighthood to protest Jallianwala Bagh massacre. Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Rowlatt Act protest Jallianwala Bagh massacre. Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Rowlatt Act party that very year. Roy incidentally found the Mexican Communist Party too. Gandhi gains control of the Indian National Congress, promotes 'Swaraj within one yea Chamber of Princes created. Tagore formally inaugurates Visva Bharati a Santiniketan. Death of social reformist Pandita Ramabai (b.1856), young widow, converted to Christianity while studying in England. 		Apparations of Fátima reported. Our Lady Fatima claimed to appear to three shepherd children. Fatima claimed to appear to three shepherd fation de appear to three shepherd de appear to the shepherd to
7) ıra mass o kills 22	(Metcalf 147) Chauri Chaura massacre in Gorakhpur district, mob kills 22 Indian policemen.	(Metcalf 147) Chauri Chaura mass district, mob kills 22
	 First Indian elected to the British House of Commons, 1892-1895. (Metcalf 124) World influenza pandemic affects India. 5 million affected. World influenza pandemic affects India. 5 million affected. Gadhar ('revolution') movement of Punjabi immigrants to North America tries to spread revolution in India. Jallianwala Bagh (Amritsar) massacre. Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Rowlatt Act passed. Fifty-year-old Gandhi emerges on the national stage. Communist Party of India founded in Tashkent by MN Roy. British proscribe the party that very year. Roy incidentally founded the Mexican Communist Party too. Gandhi gains control of the Indian National Congress, promotes 'Swaraj within one year'. Death of social reformist Pandita Ramabai (b.1856), young widow, converted to Christianity while studying in England. (Metcalf 147) Chauri Chaura massacre in Gorakhpur district, mob kills 22 Indian policemen. 	d d

1923			CV and VP Chavan author the influential The Konkani Proverbs. Manuel Jose Gabriel de Saldanha authors Historia de Goa.
1924	Portugal bags its first Olympic media, bronze in Equestrian in Paris.	Broadcasting initiated in India, at the Madras Presidency Club Radio.	
1925		RSS is formed, mainly comprising upper caste Maharashtrians. (Metcalf 225)	
1926	Internal unrest and global chaos sees a 1917 military coup, an assassination, and unstable Republican rule. Increasingly, it is felt that only a dictator could sort things. Full military coup in 1926; government headed only by generals till 1933.		
1927	Minimum school years are reduced from the sixth to the fourth grade; students are divided by gender. Lisbon students demonstrate against the Ditadura Nacional.	The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry formed. In Goa, incidentally, the Associação Comercial da India Portuguesa had its first managing committee meeting in 1908. The Free Press News Service is formed.	Shenoi Goembab speaks on Goenkaaranchi Goianbhaili Vosnook (Goan migrants outside Goa) at the Saraswat Brahman Samaj in Bombay. Later converted into a book. His also wrote Albuquerquan Goen Koshem Jiklem (How Albuquerque Won Goa); Mhoji Baa Khuin Gelli?; Gomantopnishat, a two-volume fiction and non-fiction collection; Bhagwantalem Geet, the Bhagvad Gita in Konkani. He wrote seven books in the Roman script and 22 in Devanagari and worked in genres of stories, dramas, novels, poetry, essays, linguistics, philosophy and history.
1928	Acordo Missionário (Missionary Agreement) between Catholic Church and Portugal, giving special status to the Catholic Church in Portugal's colonies.	Communist-led Girni Kamgar Union leads a textile workers' strike that lasts six months. Nehru Report (by Motilal Nehru) demands	
)	immediate home rule. Found unacceptable by	

	Lata Mangueshkar, noted playback singer who traces her roots to Goa, is born. In 1992, she had over 30,000 gramaphone records.				
British. Widens the gap between Muslim opinion and Congress.	Conspiracy trial against Comunist leaders, many jailed for four years.	Noted writer R. K. Narayan (Rasipuram Krishnaswami Iyer Narayan (Rasipuram Z001) writes <i>Swami and Friends</i> . His first novel gets rejected repeatedly. Malgudi, the fictional Indian town, is created. Graham Greene helps obtain publishers for Narayan's first four books. The Salt March brings Gandhi to wider public attention including overseas.	A Conservative government in the UK attempts to find ways to hold on to India. India's capital shifted from Old Delhi to Lutyens-Baker designed New Delhi	Gandhi-Irwin pact collapses. Communal Award, separate electorates for minorities. Gandhi's fast sees seperate electorates for 'untouchables' being replaced by reserved seats.	The idea of Pakistan takes shape via a Cambridge Muslim students' group.
Salazar becomes Minister of Finance for the second time on 26 Apr.		The Acto Colonial (Colonial Act) published. ItNoted writer R. K. Narayan (Rasipuram defines the defining the status of PortugueseIn Noted writer R. K. Narayan (Rasipuram defines the defining the status of Portuguesedefines the defining the status of PortugueseKrishnaswami Iyer Narayanaswami, 190colonies (Angola, Cabinda, Cape Verde, Portuguese Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique, Portuguese India, PortugueseKrishnaswami Iyer Narayanaswami, 190Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique, Portuguese India, Portuguese2001) writes Swami and Friends. His fi povel gets rejected repeatedly. Malgudi, novel gets rejected repeatedly. Malgudi, fict four books.Domingos da Costa e Oliveira becomes Prime Minister on 21 Jan.Domingo overseas.		Salazar becomes Prime Minister on 5 July.	New Constitution after a false referendrum. Portugal become s a Corporative, single party and multi-continental nation. The <i>Estado</i> <i>Novo</i> (New State), a Fascist-leaning right- wing dictatorial regime assumes power. The single party state of the União Nacional is created. Censorship. Salazar's authoritarian, anti-parliament, nationalistic and anti-
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933

	Japanese forces occupy Timor L'este, promuting Portugal to send additional	troops to Portuguese India.								
	Japanese advance on Assam.	Leftist Labour member Sir Stafford Cripps, friend of Nehru, attempts an agreement over the future of India. Arch imperialist Winston Churchill, heads a British wartime coalition government, says no intention to "preside over the liquidation of the British Empire".	Quit India Movement. Uncoordinated violence (Metcalf 203). 1942 the most severe threat to the British in India after 1857.	The devastating Bengal famine results in an estimated two million deaths.	The Left-influenced India Peoples' Theatre Association is formed.	Leading Indian industrialists launch the Bombay Plan, to promote rapid growth of basic industries under State leadership.	As WWII ends, India is no longer Britain's debtor, but has UKP1000 million balance in London. (Metcalf 201) By 1945, the elite ICS bureaucracy had become half-Indian in its composition.	In WW II, leaders like Bose sought India's freedom with Axis help. In a representative post-War trial, Britain tries three INA officers a Hindu, a Muslim and a Sikh.	In London, the Labour Atlee ministry replaces Churchill's Conservatives.	In Kerala, PN Panicker sets up the Travancore
Germany's sea and air warfare.	Lisbon Airport opens, used for Allied flights in World War II	Eusébio, who turns into the amazing footballer, is born on 25 Jan.					PVDE, the political police, is reorganized and renamed PIDE (Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado; International Police for the Defense of the State).			
	1942			1943		1944	1945			

		Library Assn. 47 rural libraries join; slogan Read and Grow.		
1946		Royal Indian Navy Mutiny. Cabinet Mission. Direct Action Day. Great Calcutta killing in Aug. 400,000 killed. Death of Madan Mohan Malaviya, founder of the Benares Hindu University. Congress decides to abolish <i>zamindari</i> . Campaign gains momentum to oust	<i>Satyagraha</i> by Lohia at Margão, for which June 18 becomes known. The Civilian Police corps in created. The Medical School of Goa is given the status of an autonomous university independent of the Department of the Public Health of	Shenoy Goembab dies on April 9. This day now celebrated as <i>Vishwa Konkani</i> Dis (World Konkani Day).
		Portuguese, satyagraha campaign launched on 18 June.	Portuguese India. More English-language schools allowed in Goa.	
1947		Indian Independence Act 1947 passed by the British. Country partitioned. Freedom. Hundreds of thousands die in widespread communal bloodshed. In Oct, Kashmir maharaja aceeds to India.	Nehru pledges at Goan Marathi Literary Conference that Independent India will offer aid to Goans to make possible liberation of Portuguese India.	Lino Abreu (b. 1914) authors <i>Lettres à Madame Pommeret</i> , letters to a French lady describing Goan life.
1948		Mahatma Gandhi assassinated by Nathuram Godse. King of England relinquishes his title as 'Emperor of India'. Partition uproots some 12.5 million people		
		Incorporation of princely states. Indian Army ends two-centuries of Nizam rule in Hyderabad. Pakistan wages first war over Kashmir, secures part of western Kashmir, northern areas Gilgit-Baltistan.		
1949	Portugal becomes a founding member of NATO.			
1950		Columbia-educated Dr Ambedkar dies, after converting to Buddhism.		Census shows the population of Portuguese India was 637,846 with 547 703 in Goa and the others in Daman
		Death of Sardar Vallabhai Patel.		and Diu. This comprised 388,741 Hindus, 234,021 Catholics and 15,084 from the

				other religious denominations.
1951	Salazar takes over as Provisional President on the death of President Carmona. Portugal overhauls its colonial system in an attempt to curb criticism on Portuguese Colonialism. All colonies renamed Portuguese Overseas Provinces. India requests Vatican to end the Archdiocese of Goa.	India's first general elections; Congress wins 164/489 seats and 45% of the vote. Independent India's first Census finds 720 languages and dialects. Central Film Censor Board is formed. First Indian Institute of Technology is opened at Kharagpur, housed in the former building of the Hilji detention camp constructed by the British France transfers Chandernagar to India		
1952		First International Film Festival, in Bombay. Cinematographic Act, which differentiates 'Universal' (U) movies from 'Adult' (A) ones, comes into effect. India and 34 countries sign first World Convention on Copyrights, Geneva. Chandigarh is founded. Designed by Le Corbusier.		Prof. C.R. Boxer's `A Glimpse of the Goa Archives' appears in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Vol. XIV, June 1952, pp.299- 324.
1953		Indias academy of drama, dance and music, the Sangeet Natak Akademi, is set up.	Gol closes its legation in Lisbon, after tensions over the future of colonies in South Asia. Goan-origin Valerian Gracias is first in India to be appointed as Cardinal by the Vatican.	
1954	Portuguese enclave of Dadra and Nagar Haveli occupied by India.	India's academy of the letters, Sahitya Akademi, launched. India recognises Tibet as region of China.	Satyagraha on the Goa border fails. Expat Goans and Indian nationalists involved. Dadrá and Nagar-Aveli, headquartered in	

		Pondicherry, Mahe, Karikal and Yanon all French territories are handed over to India. Union territory of Pondicherry is formed. National Film Award introduced.	Silvassa, part of the Distrito de Damão, is taken Indian nationalists. The Portuguese had been granted Nagar Haveli in a treaty around 1772 by the Marathas, and had purchased Dadra in 1785.	
1955		Congress pledges to work for a "socialistic pattern of society where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control." India launches its first newsprint factory at Nepanagar in MP. Children's Film Society set up.	Freedom fighters step up attempts to enter Goa. New Delhi orders Portuguese Embassy in New Delhi shut. Portugal starts its case against India in the International Court in Hague and the UN. In July, Gol tells the lower house of Parliament that it has asked Portugal to shut its legation in New Delhi.	Lambert Mascarenhas' Sorrowing Lies My Land Pissurlencar's Roteiro dos Arquivos da India Portuguesa is published.
1956		State Reorganisation.		
		India's first five-star delux hotel, Ashoka, hosts delegates of Unesco's first out-of- Europe session.		
		Nehru, Nasser, Tito found the Non-Aligned Movement at Brioni, Yugoslavia		
1957	RTP1 appears on television for the first time.	The Indian national calender, based on the Saka era, adopted. Year 0 starts in the Year 78 of the Common Era.		
		Kerala elects a Communist ministry to power, first case of its kind in the world.		
		National Book Trust is set up to promote good literature at moderate prices .		
1959		Tibetan refugees, Dalai Lama too, flee to India after the Chinese takeover.		
1960	Portugal becomes founding member of European Free Trade Association.	FTII, the Film & Television Institute of India, set up in Pune.		Members of Goan intelligentsia petition autonomy from Lisbon, which is turned down (Mankekar 34)

In Feb, Portug Angola.	In Feb, Portugal's Colonial War starts in Angola.	On December 18-19, Gol's military action in Goa leads to the end of Portuguese rule in that	On 23 Oct, Nehru, speaking in Bombay, points to increasing reports of "terror and	Orlando da Costa's O Signo da Ira.
Indian army conquers Portu Daman and Diu, Dec 18-19	Indian army conquers Portuguese Goa, Daman and Diu, Dec 18-19.		torture" in Goa. He declared that "the time has come for us to consider afresh what method should be adopted to free Goa from Portuguese rule."	After the end of Portuguese rule in Goa, Aleixo Manuel da Costa (1909-2000) of the Central Library painstakingly collects references of writings by Goan authors and published in his four-volume Dicionário da Literatura Goesa.
				Biblioteca Nacional de Goa was renamed as the Central Library, and in 2012, as Krishnadas Shama Central Library. Shama, sometimes identified as a Goud Saraswat Brahmin, native of Quelossim or Keloshi near Cortalim, is believed to be the author of <i>Krishna Charitrakatha</i> which is claimed to be the first extant prose work by a Goan in Marathi.
In August, Portugal can of Indian nationals and assets. Repatriation of colony of Mozambique.	In August, Portugal cancels 'residence permits' of Indian nationals and liquidates Indian assets. Repatriation of Indians from its colony of Mozambique.	Chinese invade India over fight on Aksai Chin, a region north of Kashmir which had been claimed by Britain for India, though the British had never occupied it.	Goa incorporated into the Indian Union. Union territory of Goa, Daman and Diu formed. On 26 Mar, the Estado da India (Portuguese for 'State of India') formally	
In June, Mozambica founded in Tanzania.	In June, Mozambican Liberation Front founded in Tanzania.	President proclaims Emergency after Chinese conflict begins.	June sees the repatriation of Portuguese detainees in Goa.	
		National Library for the Blind set up in Dehradun (Bhattacherje A187).	First elections to Goa Assembly. Wealthy mineowner Dayanand Bandodkar becomes CM. Heaviest electoral defeat ever suffered by the dominant Indian National Congress. MGP gets 14 seats, UGP 12, Congress 1 and Independents 3.	
Madeira Airport opens 80 passengers landing.	Madeira Airport opens with a TAP flight with 80 passengers landing.	Nehru, India's first PM, dies on May 27.		Asif Currimbhoy, an early Indian plavwrights writing in English, releases
-	5	VHP established to confront Christian missionary activity and for the dissemination of Hinduism worldwide. (Metcalf 277)		the play <i>Goa</i> . Suriya Publishers.

		National Film Archives launched. Paul VI becomes first Pope to visit India.		
1965		Tensions with Pakistan. Results in the outbreak of war.	MGP-dominated Goa Legislative Assembly resolves to merge Goa into Maharashtra.	Anthony D'Costa, sj's <i>The</i> <i>Christianisation of the Goa Islands</i> , <i>1510-1567</i> is seen as "clearly aimed largely at counteracting A.K. Priolkar's works on <i>The Goa Inquisition</i> (Bombay, 1961) and <i>The Printing Press in India</i> (Bombay, 1958)" (Boxer "Review" 399).
1966	Salazar Bridge inaugurated in Lisbon in August. Longest suspension bridge in Europe. Replica of the Golden Gate Bridge.	Death of V.D. Savarkar (b. 1883). A revolutionary as a youth, after 1923 he celebrated the religious-defined identity of the Hindu. Rupee devalued in June by 36.5% (Bhattacherie A190).	Rita Faria, a medical student of Goan origin, is selected Miss World in London (Bhattacherje A190).	
1967		World's longest masonry dam, Nagarjunasagar, commissioned (Bhattacherje A190). Nagaland chooses English as official language. Naxalbari, covering 60 villages in the West Bengal Himalayan foothills, erupts in an armed peasant uprising.	Opinion poll in Jan. Decides against merger with Maharashtra. Result: For merger 138,170. Against 172,191.	In 1967, V B Hubli , of Karnatak University, Dharwad, was appointed Curator. In 1969, he will be appointed as officer under the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.
1968	In Sept, Salazar leaves government due to health problems. Marcello Caetano ascends Prime Ministership.	Auroville, the international township, is inaugurated with support of Indian states, Unesco and 121 countries at Pondicherry.		
1969		India's ruling party, the Congress, splits. It will face further challenges to its dominance through further splits in 1977 and 1979 (Bhattacherje A193).	Indian Navy's first helicopter squadron commissioned in Goa (Bhattacherje A192).	Central Library frames Rules for Recognition and Grant-In-Aid to Libraries. Role defined as maintaing the Copyright Collection of locally published

books; to maintain a reading room, reference books and for general readers – in English, Hindi, Portuguese, Marathi, Konkani, French and Sanskrit; to develop a children's comer; to preserve manuscripts, rare books; to promote a library movement through "seminars, symposium, discussion. brain trust, etc."; to train librarians; to guide recognised libraries on cataloguing and bibliographical information.	Leslie de Noronha's <i>The Mango and the Tamarind Tree</i> , one of the early English novels set in Goa, is published. Noronha also authored <i>The Dew Drop Inn</i> (1994), a sequel to this.	Anthology of Goan writing in Portuguese, A Literatura Indo-Portuguesa, published in Lisbon.	<i>The Brahmans</i> , English translation of Francisco Luis Gomes' novel, published in Bombay.	Jivottama Raya Khota's <i>Dambhsphota</i> , a reply to Rajaram Rangoji Painginkar's book <i>Mi Konn?</i> , the autobiography of the social worker and Goan mineowner, which focuses on the social life of the Devadasi community.	
		Bangladesh is born, with some covert and overt intervention by an Indira Gandhi-led India.	Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed. Indo-Pak war breaks out on Dec 3. President	declares National Emergency. Pakistan Army in East Pakistan surrenders to Indian Army on Dec 16 after the latter's assault on Dhaka.	India becomes top film producer in the world with 433 feature films produced in 1971 (Bhattacherje A195). First World Book Fair at New Delhi (Bhattacherje A195).
	Salazar dies on 27 Jul.				
	970	1971			1972

1973	Guinea-Bissau (Portuguese Guinea) declares independence unilaterally.			Robert de Souza replies to Nirad Chaudhuri's <i>Continent of Circe</i> (1965), with <i>Goa and the Continent of Circe</i> .
				Dr V.T. Gune's <i>Guide to the Goa</i> Archives, and M.N. Pearson's `The Goa Archives and Indian History'.
1974	Both military and society get disenchanted with Portugal's colonial wars. The Carnation Revolution of 25 April ends half a century of of distances	JP (Jayaprakash Narayan) movement. Death of EV Ramaswami (b. 1880), a leader of the Dravedian and Solf Decreed	Portugal's Mario Soares and India's Swaran Singh sign an agreement in New York; Lisbon relinquishes all claims to its forment territories of Coal Daman, Din	V.S. Sukhtanker authors the slender <i>Tales</i> & <i>Tellers of Goa</i> , with five stories spanning 58 pages.
		First nuclear detonation at Pokhran, Rajasthan.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli. New Delhi treaty provides for diplomatic relations to be resumed between India and Portugal.	Mobile library covers 25 villages in Tiswadi, Ponda, Quepem and Sanguem talukas.
1975	All Portuguese colonies in Africa get independence; Timor promised too.			Sahitya Akademi under Suniti Kumar Chatterji appoints a committee of
	An attempted right-wing coup fails. The revolution turns left; industries, big properties nationalised.			was indeed an independent and iterary language, classified as an Indo-European language. This comes after a long dispute that Konkani was a dialect of Marathi.
1976	Acores Islands get political autonomy.	Samachar, an attempt at merging Indian news agencies, is launched. Disintegrates in 1978. TV separated from radio. Doordarshan opens.		
1977		Internal Emergency withdrawn on 21 Mar. It was declared on 25 June 1975.		
		Kesarbai Kerkar (b. 1890), prominent singer of Goan origin, dies in Bombay.		
1978	Alfredo Nobre Costa, of Goan origin and a desendent of a prominent family from Margao, becomes Prime Minister in Portugal			Boarding Party: The Last Action of the Calcutta Light House is a winner's verion of World War II, set in Goa.
				State Level Expert Committee under K S

				Deshpande to study needs of the Central Library. 4600 sq.m. at the entrance to Panjim (Pato area) allotted for new building, completed only at the start of the 21st century.
1979		Morarji Desai resigns; Charan Singh takes over as Prime Minister. Socialist <i>Lok Nayak</i> (People's Leader) Jayaprakash Narayan (b. 1902) dies.		
1980s	Portugal's last Governor of Goa, Vassalo e Silva , visits Goa and is quoted by the <i>New</i> <i>York Times</i> as having called it 'a land and a people I deeply admire and respect.'	In the 1980s, conflict emerges over the relationship between Punjab and the Indian State. Governments in India in the 1980s try	Arthur Crawford's <i>Legends of the</i> <i>Konkani</i> , first published in 1909, though not entirely restricted to Goa alone, gets a new lease of life with a new edition in 1987.	Mario Miranda (1926-2011) comes out with <i>Are you ready, Miss Fonseca?</i> The Loutolim-origin, Bombay-based cartoonist authored popular titles and illustrated books by other authors.
				Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) sees Central Library plan bibliography of Goan authors; keeping library open for 12 hours each day; constructing its building; two Chief Librarians.
1981		Salman Rushdie, Midnight's Children		
1982				Jesuit writer António Pereira, Jesuit writer who devoted much of his life to studying Konkani, self-publishes <i>The Makers of</i> <i>Konkani Literature</i> .
1983			CHOGM Retreat, a Commnwealth two- day side event to the main Meeting, is held at the Tata-run Fort Aguada Hermitage in Goa in Nov Indira Gandhi	Freedom fighter Pundalik D. Gaitonde authors Portuguese Pioneers in India: spotlight on medicine.
			is its chairperson.	The <i>O Heraldo</i> , which sometimes called itself the "last Portuguese daily in Asia", changes to being an English newspaper.
1984		Brindanwale and supporters blockade themselves in the Golden Temple, Amritsar.		Peter Nazareth, who taught (and still teaches) literature at the University of

		Operation Blue Star. Indira Gandhi assassinated by her bodyguards. Anti-Sikh communal riots.		Iowa, sets his work <i>The General is Up</i> in a fictional country Damibia, where a General rises to power and expels Asians,
		Worst industrial disaster worldwide in Bhopal kills 3000+.		including Goans.
1986			Collapse of lone Mandovi bridge, connecting Panjim to North Goa.	
			Agitation in Goa over language issue. A violent Konkani-versus-Marathi agitation. Six young men killed.	
1985	Last Portuguese Governor of Goa, Gen. Vassalo e Silva, dies at 86. He defied Salazar's order to defend Goa with 3500 troops against 45,000 Indian soldiers and surrendered instead.	Supreme Court delivers Shah Bano judgement, which would shape India's communal discourse over long.		
1987			Goa gains statehood, Offcial Language Act passed in Goa.	Official Language Act gives official status to Konkani; an ambiguous but official status to Marathi.
1988		Salman Rushdie, <i>The Satanic Verses</i> is published in the UK.		Bombay-based prominent Goan humour writer George Menezes's <i>One Sip At A</i> <i>Time</i> is published.
1989		V.P. Singh-led coalition replace the Congress in power at New Delhi. Bhagalpur riots, Bihar.		
1990 on- wards		GoI withdraws from the complicated LTTE situation in Sri Lanka.	Intense political instability for much of the decade.	
		Advani undertakes his modern version of a <i>rath yatra</i> across India, a campaign from a "chariot" atop a Toyota.		
1991		Rajiv Gandhi killed in Sriperambedur, a fallout of Tamil-Sinhala war in Sri Lanka. PV		

		Narasimha Rao, compromise Congress leader, is prime minister from 1991-96.		
		Kerala India's first 100% literate state		
1992	RTPi is viewable for first time on TV.	Ayodhya: Karsevaks tear down Babri Masjid, 1528-built mosque. Worst communal violence since Partition.	Konkani added to the schedule of the Indian Constitution.	Victor Rangel-Ribeiro, who took to getting a novel published at the age of 72, debuts with novel <i>Tivolem</i> , set in the Goa in the intervar vasar of 1933
		Major financial scam involving collusion between SBI officials and foreign private banks.		
1994	The Consulate General of Portugal is set up in Goa, two decades after the normalising of relations between Lisbon and New Delhi.	Congress government hit by a series of corruption scams.	Fundação Oriente, the Portuguese cultural foundation supported by a casino cess from Macau, is set up in Goa, and would go on to support local literature here.	Angela's Goan Identity, by Carmo D'Souza, is the story of a Goan landlord family in Calangute, fishing village facing severe changes. Ad guru Frank Simoes's <i>Glad Seasons in Goa</i> takes a light-hearted look at Goa.
1995		Coca Cola returns to India, after its ouster in the 1970s.	Violent protests by environmental activists and others opposed to the Thapar-DuPont Nylon 6,6 factory in Ponda subdistrict. One killed.	Cleo Odzer, former hippy in the late 1970s, authors <i>Goa Freaks: My Hippie</i> Years in India.
1996		Economic growth falls. Decisive defeat for the Congress in elections.		H. Ratnakar Rau's novel <i>Govind</i> , set in colonial times, is the story of a Goan Hindu ornhan growing up in the times of
		BJP, with 194 seats in the Lok Sabha, manages to run a 13-day government. Deve Gowda and Gujaral rule next.		the Inqusition.
1997		Arundhati Roy debuts with <i>The God of Small</i> <i>Things</i> , later to win the Booker Prize. Essayist-novelist Pankaj Mishra, then a		João da Viega Coutinho's A Kind of Absence published through Yuganta Press, Connecticut.
		narper-courties euror, recognises its potential and sends it to three British publishers. Roy gets half-a-million UKP advances. Rights sold in 21 countries.		Clement J. Vaz authors <i>Profiles of</i> <i>Eminent Goans, Past and Present,</i> which shapes perceptions about the achievement of a small community scattered globally.